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BOOK VIII.—[1596—1597.]

(CONTINUED.)

PAGE

The Duke of Mayenne concludes a treaty with the king, and comes to his majesty at Monceaux—Rosny goes to visit the generalities—Calumnies of his enemies upon this occasion—His journey of great use to the king—Rosny's disputes with Sancy—He discovers the artifices and frauds of the council of finances—The assembly *des Notables* held at Rouen—Reflections upon the States of the kingdom—Good counsel given by Sully to the king—The result of this assembly—The Council of Reason established, and afterwards suppressed—Rosny's labours in the finances 1

BOOK IX.—[1597—1598.]

Diversions at court—The Spaniards surprise Amiens—Rosny contrives the means of retaking this place—He is put at the head of the council of finances in the king's absence—His labours in the finances, and disputes with the council—The siege of Amiens, all the necessaries for which are supplied by Rosny—The Protestants mutiny during this siege—Their designs—Death of Saint-Luc—Henry promises Rosny the post of grand master of the ordnance, but gives it to D'Estrées—Rosny made

PAGE

governor of Mantes—The Spaniards attempt in vain to succour Amiens—It is taken—An account of Henry's letters upon different subjects—Enterprises after the siege of Amiens: some fail, others are executed—Negotiations for a peace—Henry IV. goes into Brittany—Cabals of the Calvinists to obtain a favourable edict — Henry gives audience to the English and Dutch ambassadors, who cannot prevail upon him to continue the war — Edict of Nantes — Henry's conversation with the Duke of Bouillon—A singular conversation between Henry IV. and Rosny upon the dissolution of his marriage, and his passion for the Duchess of Beaufort—Henry returns to Paris—Goes to Picardy—Conclusion and ceremonies of the peace of Vervins . 28

BOOK X.—[1598—1599.]

Part of the army disbanded—Ordinances respecting grain, the wearing of swords, and further regulations in the finances, the police, public works, &c.—Question of the true or false Don Sebastian—Conferences held at Boulogne between Spain and England, but without effect—The Duchess of Beaufort labours with her partisans to be declared queen — The firmness and resolution with which she is opposed by Rosny, who quarrels with her—They are reconciled by Henry—A conversation between the king and his mistress upon that subject—Henry's sickness—Reception of the Legate at St. Germain—Labours of Rosny in the finances—Qualities necessary for a statesman—Rosny gives an account of his wealth — His character, his manner of living, &c. — The deplorable condition to which France was reduced by the wars — Sums expended for the treaties made with the League—Arrêts which were published—Rosny has a dispute with the Duke of Epernon—Labours with Henry to rectify the abuses in the finances—The abilities of this prince for government—Singular events—Exposition, examen, and artifice of the last will of Philip II.—The archduchess comes to Marseilles — Opposition of the clergy of

PAGE

France to the marriage of the Princess Catherine with the Duke of Bar—Cardinal d'Ossat's conduct upon this occasion—A conference held between the Catholics and Protestants for the conversion of this princess, but without success—Henry orders the marriage to be solemnised by the Archbishop of Rouen — Humorous conversations upon this subject — The clergy and parliament oppose the registration of the Edict of Nantes—Alterations made in it—Assembly of the Protestants —Artifices of the Duke of Bouillon on this occasion—The edict registered—The affair of Martha Brossier—Gratuities and employments given by Henry to Rosny—The strange deaths of the constable's wife, and of the Duchess of Beaufort—Henry's grief for the loss of the duchess—Rosny consoles him 81

BOOK XI,—[1599—1601.]

Affairs of the Marquisate of Saluces—Artifices of the Duke of Savoy to avoid making a Restitution of Saluces—Journey of Henry IV. to Blois—Dissolution of his marriage with Margaret of Valois—His amours with Mademoiselle d'Entragues, who persuades him to give her a promise of marriage—The courage and resolution of Rosny on this occasion—Articles of Marriage with the Princess of Florence concluded—Foreign affairs—Rosny takes upon him the guardianship of his nephew, D'Epinoy —Revocation of the permission for manufacturing rich stuffs—Rosny is made master-general of the ordnance, and gives great application to the affairs of this post—The Duke of Savoy comes to Paris—Brings over the courtiers to his interest—Endeavours to bribe Rosny, and afterwards to exclude him from the Conferences, but fails in both attempts, and returns home—Nicole Mignon attempts to poison the King—A public dispute between the Bishop d'Evreux and Du Plessis-Mornay — New subterfuges of the Duke of Savoy—Reasons for declaring war against him —Preparations made by Rosny for this war—Henry IV.

PAGE

marries the Princess of Florence by proxy—Takes Chambéry, Bourg, Montmélian, Charbonnières, &c.—Other particulars of this campaign—Great services performed there by Rosny, notwithstanding the jealousy and opposition of the courtiers—Cardinal Aldobrandin comes to negotiate a peace—Rosny's reception of him—The Conferences broken off by the demolition of Fort St. Catherine—Resumed by Rosny, who concludes the treaty—The queen comes to Paris, and is received by Rosny at the Arsenal—Foreign affairs 155

BOOK XII.—[1601.]

Affairs of the finances—Of money, of commerce, &c.—Prohibition against carrying gold or silver coin out of the kingdom—Chamber of Justice established, but to little purpose—The Author's reflections upon luxury and corruption of manners—The offices of the robe and finances suppressed—Journey of Henry IV. to Orleans—Affairs of the United Provinces—Henry goes to Calais—The French ambassador insulted at Madrid—Embassies from the Grand Seignior and the Venetians—The Queen of England comes to Dover; letters between her and Henry—Rosny goes to Dover—Conversations between Elizabeth and him, in which they lay the foundation of the great design against the House of Austria—The great wisdom of Elizabeth—Death of young Châtillon-Coligny—Birth of Louis XIII.—Henry makes La Rivière calculate his nativity—The affair of the Isles concluded with the Grand Duke of Tuscany—The Count of Bethune named Ambassador to Rome through Rosny's influence, notwithstanding the endeavours of Villeroy and Sillery to the contrary—Opposition made by these ministers to the opinions and policy of Rosny—Particulars of the conspiracy of Marshal Biron—Rosny endeavours to recal him to his duty—Henry sends him Ambassador to London—To Switzerland—He resumes his intrigues on his return—La Fin's depositions—

PAGE

An account of the pretended Don Sebastian; and other foreign affairs 215

BOOK XIII.—[1602.]

Foreign princes at Paris—Henry IV. goes to Blois—Occasion of his journey—Further account of Marshal Biron's conspiracy—A council held at Blois upon this occasion—A design formed to arrest the Dukes of Epernon and Bouillon—The first clears his conduct—The great art and address of the second—Quarrel between the king and queen—Henry's conversation with Rosny upon this subject—The effects of Henry's journey into the provinces—He resolves to have Biron arrested—Particulars of his and the Count of Auvergne's imprisonment, and of Biron's trial and execution—Rosny's behaviour throughout this affair—Henry pardons the Baron de Lux and the Count of Auvergne, who again betrays him—Reasons why he behaved thus to the Count of Auvergne—The Prince of Joinville arrested—The king pardons him also, but he is confined in prison—The Duke of Bouillon artfully avoids coming to court—The courtiers endeavour to raise suspicions in Henry against Rosny—Curious conversations between them on this occasion—Affair of the advocates—Discourse of Sigogne—Edicts and regulations upon the coin, commerce, finances, &c.—Mines discovered in France—Edict against duels—The alliance with the Swiss renewed—Journey of Henry to Calais—Account of the military exploits between the Spaniards and Dutch; and other foreign affairs 259

BOOK XIV.—[1603.]

Troubles at Metz—Henry goes thither and banishes the Soboles—Other affairs transacted in this journey—Memorial against the Cardinal d'Ossat—Examination of the sentiments and conduct of the cardinal—Affairs of the Low Countries—Intrigues of the

PAGE

Duke of Bouillon, and new seditions of the Calvinists—Death of the Queen of England—Accession of James I.—Henry's return—His conversation with Rosny upon the death of Elizabeth—Resolves to send Rosny ambassador to London—Deliberations in the council, and intrigues in the court upon this embassy—Indisposition of the king—Public and private instructions given to Rosny—His departure with a numerous retinue—Character of young Servin—Rosny embarks at Calais—Insulted by the Vice-Admiral of England—His reception at Dover, Canterbury, &c.—He is received into London with the highest honours—His severity in the affair of Combaut—State of the political affairs of Great Britain—Character of the English—Of King James—Of the queen, &c.—Several factions in the English court—Rosny's conferences with the English councillors—With the deputies of the States-General—With the Resident from Venice, &c.—He obtains his first audience—His concern at not being permitted to appear in mourning . 314

BOOK XV.—[1603.]

Continuation of Rosny's embassy to London—Detail of what passed at his first audience—Public conversations of the King of England with him upon different subjects—Accidents at the court of London favourable and unfavourable to this negotiation—Dispositions of the different courts of Europe—Rosny's first conference with the English ministers—Intrigues of Spain—Rosny's second audience, and private conversation with King James—He persuades him to support the United Provinces—Other affairs transacted between them—His second conference with the British ministers, who endeavour to overthrow his negotiation—Imprudent proceedings of Count d'Aremberg—Third audience—Rosny admitted to the table of the King of England—Public conversations on different subjects—Third conference with the English ministers and the deputies of the United Provinces—Artifice and perfidy of Cecil—Fourth audi-

PAGE

ence—Private conversations with King James, to whom he communicates the political designs of Henry IV. and Elizabeth, and endeavours to gain his approbation of them—A short abstract of these designs—James declares himself publicly in Rosny's favour 367

BOOK XVI.—[1603.]

Continuation of the embassy and negotiations of Rosny at the court of London—Form of a treaty with his Britannic majesty—Substance of this treaty—Despatches from Rosny intercepted—Audience of leave, and Rosny's last conversation with King James—Presents which he makes in London—His return—Dangers at sea—His reception from Henry IV.—Public conversation between them on the subject of his negotiations—Memoirs of the state of affairs in England, Spain, the Low Countries, and other foreign countries—Rosny resumes his labours in the finances—Henry supports him openly in a quarrel which he had with the Count of Soissons—He entertains the king at Rosny—Journey of Henry into Normandy—What passed in this journey—Mutiny of the Protestants of the Assembly of Gap—Rosny made governor of Poitou—Establishment of the silk manufactory in France—Conversations on this subject, in which he endeavours to dissuade Henry from this design—Remarks on his opinion of wearing silk, and on other parts of luxury—A colony settled in Canada 413

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK VIII.

(CONTINUED.)

[1596—1597.]

The Duke of Mayenne concludes a treaty with the king, and comes to his majesty at Monceaux—Rosny goes to visit the generalities—Calumnies of his enemies upon this occasion—His journey of great use to the king—Rosny's disputes with Sancy—He discovers the artifices and frauds of the council of finances—The assembly *des Notables* held at Rouen—Reflections upon the States of the kingdom—Good counsel given by Sully to the king—The result of this assembly—The Council of Reason established, and afterwards suppressed—Rosny's labours in the finances.

THE treaty with the Duke of Mayenne, which had been agreed upon some time before, was concluded during the king's stay at Monceaux. When the king was at Amiens, the duke had sent a man to him, named D'Estienne, to know what place would be agreeable to his majesty, for him to come and pay him his respects, and the king appointed Monceaux, in consideration of the duke's indisposition, which would not permit him to make longer journeys than from Amiens to Soissons, where he resided.* The king was walking in his park, attended only by myself, and holding my hand, when the Duke of Mayenne arrived, who put one knee to the ground, with the lowest submissions, and added to a promise of inviolable fidelity his acknowledgments to his majesty, for having delivered him, he said, from the arrogance of the

* L'Etoile tells the story otherwise: but in this the Duke of Sully is more to be depended upon. Pèrefixe has likewise been mistaken in placing this interview in 1595. (See Chron. Noven. liv. viii. p. 599.) [Pèrefixe places the conclusion of the treaty only in 1595.]

Spaniards and the subtilty of the Italians. Henry, who as soon as he saw him approach had advanced to meet him, embraced him thrice, and forcing him to rise, embraced him again with that goodness which he never withheld from a subject that returned to his duty; then taking his hand, he made him walk with him in his park, conversing with him familiarly upon the embellishments he designed to make in it. The king walked so fast, that the Duke of Mayenne, equally incommoded by his sciatica, his fat, and the heat of the weather, suffered great torments without daring to complain. The king perceiving it, by the duke's being red and in a violent perspiration, whispered me, "If I walk longer with this corpulent body, I shall revenge myself upon him without any great difficulty for all the mischiefs he has done us." Then turning to the Duke of Mayenne, "Tell me truly, cousin," pursued he, "do I not walk a little too fast for you?" The duke replied that he was almost suffocated, and that if his majesty walked but a very little while longer, he would kill him without designing it. "Hold there, cousin," replied the king with a smile, embracing him again, and lightly tapping his shoulder, "for this is all the vengeance you will ever receive from me." The Duke of Mayenne, sensibly affected with this frank behaviour, attempted to kneel and kiss the hand his majesty held out to him, and protested that he would henceforward serve him even against his own children. "I believe it," said Henry, "and that you may love and serve me a long time, go to the castle and rest and refresh yourself, for you have much need of it. I will give you a couple of bottles of Arbois wine, for I know you do not hate it: here is Rosny, whom I resign to accompany you: he shall do the honours of my house, and attend you to your chamber; he is one of my oldest servants, and one of those who is most rejoiced at your resolving to serve and love me affectionately." The king, continuing his walk, left me with the Duke of Mayenne, whom I conducted to a summer-house to repose himself, and afterwards attended him on horseback to the castle, as much satisfied with the king and myself, as we were both with him.

The king thought Monceaux so agreeable a place that he stayed there longer than he had at first intended: he sent for the constable and Villeroy from Amiens, and ordered the coun-

cil of the finances to reside at Meaux, for the conveniency of receiving his commands. I had not yet proposed in it my scheme of visiting the districts. His majesty, being convinced that it must be attended with good consequences, took upon himself the care of proposing it. At the first hint he gave of it, the councillors, who thought none but themselves could be designed for this employment, and each of whom was attentive to his own particular interest, without prejudicing that of the body in general, approved of the design; but were greatly surprised when they found that, amongst them all, the king only named La Grange-le-Roi for this purpose, and appointed him two districts: his majesty filled up the other commissions with the names of Messieurs de Caumartin* and Bizouze, for two districts each; and with those of the other two masters of requests, for one district each: four of the chief and most extensive ones were assigned to myself. The gentlemen of the council began now to repent that they had not hindered the execution of a plan, which would produce a full proof of their injustice: they united their utmost endeavours to render it useless, or at least to thwart it as much as possible. Their malice was all directed against me; for, by the confidence the king placed in me, and the part I had acted in this affair, they guessed the truth. I was accused of ignorance, rashness, and obstinacy, and other faults still more glaring; and had no sooner begun to exercise the duties of my employment, than I perceived that, by an effect of their foresight, they had taken all the necessary measures with the treasurers of France, the receivers general and particular, comptrollers, clerks, and the lowest officers in the revenue. These people, almost all of whom had either sold or blindly devoted themselves to their wills, were ready to do whatever was required of them: some absented themselves, and left their offices shut up; others presented me with a state of their accounts drawn up with all that art which may be expected from men who make a science of

* Louis le Fèvre, Lord of Caumartin, was sent into the Lyonnais, Berry, and Auvergne; we shall speak of him hereafter. He was keeper of the seals in 1622, after the death of M. de Vic, and died the following year, in the seventy-second year of his age. He had the same eulogiums given him by historians as M. de Sully bestows on him in the sequel.

upon to believe that I should use the power I was possessed of with a severity that would make even him odious to the people; and then, instead of an invitation, I received an absolute order to return to Paris. I obeyed without murmuring, though greatly concerned to be thus stopped in the midst of my endeavours for his service. I caused the accounts of my four districts to be immediately drawn up, and signed by eight receivers-general; and not having time to convert the five hundred thousand crowns I had raised into a less bulky coin, I loaded seventy carts with them, making the eight receivers-general accompany them, under the guard of a provost and thirty of the marshalsea-men, who conducted them to Rouen, where the king then was, on account of the opening of the States.

Of all the slanders which had been invented by the gentlemen of the council to procure my disgrace, none seemed to them so specious as to make the king believe that I had filled the prisons with the officers and clerks of his finances, to which they thought fit to add, that, through an insolent vanity I had brought along fifty of the principal ones bound in my train. The king, who suspected no falsehood in so positive a charge, received me, when on my arrival at Rouen I went to pay my respects to him, with an air that convinced me my enemies had been very active in their endeavours to injure me. He did me the honour, indeed, to embrace me, but with a coldness and reserve which were not usual with him. He asked me why I had given myself the useless trouble of bringing money along with me which I knew belonged to persons whom he had no inclination to disoblige? but he was greatly surprised to hear that not one *denier* of it was due to the princes of the blood, nor to any of the pensioners of the state, who were all paid the April quarter, and would be likewise as exactly those of July and October, since I had not taken up any of the payments beforehand. The king, after obliging me to repeat these words several times, and even to swear to the truth of them, broke into an exclamation against those wicked detractors and impudent impostors, as he called them; "but," added he, "what do you intend to do with the receivers and officers whom you keep prisoners in your train?" The astonishment into which this question threw me was alone sufficient to convince the

king of the falsehood of this accusation; nor was it difficult for me to perceive that moment, that the malice of the members of the council would recoil on themselves; and that it would disclose more effectually the secret motives of their conduct than anything I could say to him. His majesty required no other explanation from me; on the contrary, he loaded me with praises, and gave me a thousand proofs of his friendship and esteem.

Having been told that the sum I had raised must be very inconsiderable, upon his asking me what it was, I replied, that being unwilling to keep any part of it in my hands, either for my charges, expenses, or pension, that the receivers-general might find the full sum specified in the accounts, and learn from thence never to keep back any part of his revenues, his majesty might himself deduct my expenses from the five hundred thousand crowns which I had brought him. So considerable a sum gave great pleasure to the king, who was in extreme necessity for money: he told me that he would take care my expenses should be all paid; and that, besides my pension of ten thousand livres a month, which he raised to eighteen, he would present me with the sum of six thousand crowns, as a reward for the service I had just done him. He commanded me to say nothing of what had passed between us, and sent me to lay apart from the money I had brought him a sum sufficient for the payment of six companies of Swiss, at the rate of eighteen hundred crowns a company, in order that this payment, which was urgently demanded, might be made on the following day.

I returned to my carriages, which stood in two courts belonging to the Sieur de Martinbault, under the same guard that had conducted them to Rouen; I ordered them to be unloaded, and the small casks that contained the money to be placed in apartments, the locks of which were changed, and secured by large padlocks with three keys to each; the two receivers had one each, and myself the third. The next morning I sent the Swiss officers the ten thousand crowns that were due to them, by three clerks, escorted by ten of the guard.

A short time after I had sent away this escort, Sancy, to whom the king had said that he must pay the Swiss, and who was generally charged with this employment, sent me a

note, in which he desired me to deliver to the Sieur Le Charron, the bearer, ninety thousand crowns for the payment of the Swiss. These were the terms in which the note was conceived; for this councillor would have thought it a degradation of his high rank to have condescended to any politeness or explanation with his colleagues. I was equally offended at the formal style of this order and the impudent demand of a sum that I knew to be three times more than was due; I therefore answered the bearer haughtily, that I neither knew Sancy, his writing, nor his orders. "How! do you not know Sancy!" said Charron, surprised, no doubt, at my presumption, for at this name the whole council trembled; the rank Sancy held in it approaching very near to that of superintendent. Perceiving that I had no intention to send any other answer, he went back to report it with all the timidity of a servant who is apprehensive of awakening the ill-humour of his master. Unfortunately for Sancy, he repeated my message before several persons, who were witnesses likewise of his rage. "We shall soon see," said he, with an oath, "whether he knows me or not." Then, after loading me with what invectives he thought fit, he went directly to St. Ouen, to the king. "Well, Sancy," said his majesty to him, "have you been to pay our Swiss?" "No, Sire," he replied, with a sullen air, "I cannot go, for it does not please your Monsieur de Rosny that I should, who plays the emperor in his apartment, sits upon his barrels of money like an ape upon his block, and says he knows no one; and I am not sure whether you will have more credit with him than any one else." "How is this!" replied the king; "I see you will never be weary of doing this man bad offices, because I confide in him, and he serves me diligently." His majesty added, that my refusal was so much the less probable, as I had, by his order, agreed to give this money to the Swiss. Sancy supported his assertion by the testimony of Le Charron, whom he had brought along with him. The king, suspecting some new instance of malignity, ordered Biart, one of his grooms of the bedchamber, to go and fetch me.

As soon as he saw me, he asked me what had happened between Sancy and me. "I am going to tell you, Sire," replied I, boldly; and accordingly, without fearing the resentment of the terrible Sancy, I related all that had passed, in

terms that sufficiently mortified his vanity. Sancy, who was not of a temper to yield, became more insolent than before, and assuming an imperious tone, an altercation so spirited ensued between us, although in the king's presence, that his majesty was obliged to command us to be silent. That instant, ceasing to speak to my adversary, I turned towards the king, and entreated him to give me no superior in affairs wherein I acted solely by his order. The gallery at St. Ouen, where this scene passed, was crowded with a great number of persons, who, being weary of Sancy's insolence, rejoiced to see him suffer this little disgrace. "It would have been very difficult," said some, as I was afterwards informed, "for two such geniuses to have exercised the same employments, without one of them being supplanted by the other; but in the disposition the king is at present, the best economist will be his choice." Others beheld my increase of favour with envy; and others, who probably had very little regard for either of us, laughed at the novelty of the sight, and cried, "There is one hot-headed man, who has met with another that will not easily yield to him."

The report of the great sums with which I had filled the king's coffers was no sooner spread than I was overwhelmed with the demands of an infinite number of his creditors, most of whom were sent by the council, who, besides the desire they had to see this money speedily exhausted, had agreed with the creditors to have the usual drawbacks upon their debts. My principal view in raising this money being to make a fund for those military expeditions which the king was shortly to begin, without his being obliged to load the people with new imposts, I was resolved not to suffer it to be squandered away, and therefore resisted all their importunities, and continued unmoved by their insolence and threats. But reflecting afterwards that there was an absolute necessity for sending home the eight receivers-general, who alone were acquainted with the uses to which I put this money, I was afraid of giving too much occasion for slander, by keeping so large a sum in my possession after their departure; and I resolved to send it to the royal treasury. The king, who thought his money was nowhere secure but in my hands, endeavoured several times to vanquish my scruples; but in vain: I was determined to prevent the least

suspicion upon this occasion, and therefore confided it to the care of the two treasurers, Morfontaine and Gobelin. I removed his majesty's fears by promising him that I would watch so carefully how this money was laid out, that he should not suffer the least loss. I separated, in the presence of the receivers, those sums that were necessary for the payment of the army, the expense of a train of artillery of twenty pieces, with double equipages, a sufficient quantity of powder, besides a supply of other implements necessary for a siege, such as pickaxes, &c., which I caused to be carried to Amiens. I likewise laid aside fifty thousand crowns more for the king's privy purse, out of which he generally bestowed presents, unknown to the Catholics, on many old Protestant officers and soldiers who had served him faithfully in his wars. The remainder, which I calculated with the greatest exactness, amounted still to four hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and I carefully preserved both my former accounts and those relating to the sums that were taken from the total. But being desirous of having a second proof of what the gentlemen of the council and their receivers-general were capable of, I affected great negligence concerning the disposal of the money; and when the receivers came to me, before they set out for their offices, to request a copy of my accounts, I replied, that having no longer any concern about a sum that was now under the care of other persons, and they having been witnesses themselves of the uses to which the money had been applied, I had destroyed all those papers, as being now useless. This the receivers did not fail to inform their masters of.

A month had passed since the money was carried to the treasury, during which some payments were made out of it, which I likewise pretended to keep no account of: but here it was not possible to commit a mistake; for no sums being paid without a warrant from the council, which could not be suppressed, all that was necessary was to keep an exact memorandum of it, which I did. These warrants amounted in a short time to fifty thousand crowns, and consequently there ought still to be four hundred thousand in the treasury. The king, however, some days after, demanding two hundred thousand crowns to be sent to Amiens, where the designed preparations were already making, particularly that for the

taking of Hedin, Sancy and the rest replied that they believed this sum might be still in the treasury, but nothing more; and sending for D'Incarville, who was likely to know best, having the care of the registers, he assured the king that there was hardly two hundred thousand crowns in his coffers. His majesty, whom I had three days before informed that there were still four hundred thousand crowns remaining, was extremely surprised; but their assertions were so positive that they forced his belief; and he told me that I must certainly be mistaken. I was so confident of the contrary, that I insisted, before D'Incarville himself and all my colleagues, whom his majesty had sent for, that there was a mistake of one-half of the money. D'Incarville replied that his registers were more certain than my memory, and offered to bring the next day an extract of all the sums that had been paid out of the treasury. I perceived from whence so great a confidence proceeded, and I was resolved to suffer them, till the last moment, to flatter themselves that they were about to gain a complete victory over me. I had courage enough to conceal, even from the king, the stratagem I had made use of, and to endure, without reply, the reproaches he made me for letting this sum go out of my hands, contrary to his desire.

The accounts were brought the next day, well attested, and no mistake was found in the sums which had been expended; that would have been too palpable: the whole mistake lay in the receipt, which was founded upon their full persuasion that I had really destroyed the papers which proved the quantity and quality of the coin carried at different times to the royal treasury. I secretly reflected with astonishment on the subtilty with which they had acted with regard to this receipt, so as to spread over it an obscurity impenetrable to any one who was not possessed of a full proof of its falsehood, and with what art they had given to this obscurity an air of truth, and even of conviction. I asked to see the receipts, with a feigned ill-humour, which seemed to these gentlemen a confession of my defeat. The council offered to make the receivers-general depose upon oath the numbers and contents of those carriages which had been sent to the royal treasury. I replied that the discussion would be too tedious D'Incarville, who took great pleasure

at my dissembled perplexity, told me that I might go and examine the registers of the finances upon the spot, since they could not be moved out of the offices. Although I easily comprehended that these registers, public and authorised as they were, might still be falsified like the rest, yet I could not imagine the manner in which it was done, the receipt for each of the carriages being signed by D'Arnaud and De l'Hôte, whose handwriting I knew: I had, therefore, a curiosity to see these registers: all appeared very exact, and in the usual forms. The council then began to insult over me, and used their supposed advantages very ill.

I now thought it time to silence them, and to cover them in their turn with a real confusion. Accordingly, I produced the accounts, signed by the eight receivers-general; and likewise an exact memorandum of all the warrants. That instant all their arrogance vanished, and they would have been reduced to the necessity of confessing their roguery, had they not bethought themselves of a contrivance to avoid it, but so poor a one as still left them all the disgrace. A clerk, instructed by D'Incarville, came to the king, and told him that L'Hôte, who kept the key of the hall where the register lay, being one day absent when one of the most considerable of the carriages was brought to the treasury, and the receivers who conducted it being in haste to return, he thought it would be sufficient to mark the sum contained in the carriage upon a loose sheet of paper, intending that it should be afterwards revised, and signed by D'Incarville, and inserted in the registers; but that he himself going soon after to D'Heudicourt, it had escaped his memory, for which he entreated his majesty's pardon. The king contented himself with slightly reprimanding him for his neglect, ordering more care to be taken of the registers for the future; then turning towards the constable (who was at the end of the gallery where all this had passed, and who in the whole affair had appeared more favourable to the gentlemen of the council than to me), he cried out to him at a distance, in the presence of several persons, that his money was found, and that he knew in good time those in whom he ought to confide.

Amidst these contentions came the day appointed for the opening of the States of the kingdom, or rather of the as-

sembly of notables, that is, of persons of consideration, for so they were called. The reason of adopting this name,* instead of that of the States of the kingdom, which should naturally have been used, arose wholly from the lawyers and financiers, who, perceiving that at this time they had riches and influence to give them such a superiority over the other classes as they were unwilling any but the clergy should share with them, disdained to see themselves levelled with the people by one common denomination; which yet must have been the case if the forms used in these assemblies, and particularly the distinction of the three orders, had been preserved. They, indeed, made their appearance with magnificence and splendour, which sank the nobility, the soldiers, and other members of the state below consideration, since they were not able to dazzle the eyes with splendid equipages, the glitter of gold, nor a long train of attendants, things which will always draw the envy, the reverence, and the worship of the people; or, more truly, will always show our depravity and folly.

Such, in general, is the notion that ought to be formed of these great, these august assemblies; those men of whom one imagines that they must come thither with minds full of wisdom and public spirit, warm with all the zeal that ani-

* Pèrefixe says that it was because the king had not time to assemble the States in a body. "Kings," says D'Aubigné, with his usual malevolence, "have recourse to such sorts of assemblies when those of the states-general are tedious, difficult, or suspected by them. The design of assembling these little states being to find money to carry on the war against Spain, there were several schemes proposed and agreed to; the *pancarte*, or old rate, was the chief, which was but very ill received in many places of the kingdom," &c. (Tom. iii. liv. iv. chap. 14.) De Thou says very little of it (liv. cxvii.), and Davila no more. All that is said in these Memoirs about this assembly is found, so far as I know, nowhere else: and in order to render it the more intelligible, I have taken the liberty, which I requested in the preface to this work, to bring together all the ideas that the compilers of M. de Sully's manuscripts have made use of in their Memoirs, without any order or connexion. As we may well suppose that they were all mutually connected, and had each their proper object in the mind of this great statesman, it entirely coincides with his views, to apply them to the subjects to which they naturally belong. And all that can be required is, I think, never to alter the substance of the thoughts in my original, which I have principally aimed at.

mated the ancient legislators, commonly think on no other business than how to make a ridiculous display of their pomp, and show their effeminacy to most advantage; and whose appearance would sink them into infamy if they were beheld without prejudice. To complete the picture we must include the discord of the several bodies which compose these assemblies, their contrarieties of interest, their opposition of opinion, the desire of one to overreach another, their intrigues, and their confusion; all which, together with that meanness discovered in the prostitution of eloquence, have their original from the same hateful cause: for by some fatality it comes to pass that those improvements which an age makes in knowledge above preceding times, are not applied to the advancement of virtue, nor serve any other purpose than to refine wickedness. It is true that in these assemblies there may be found a small number of men of great abilities and great virtues, men whose qualities no one disputes; but instead of being forced into public notice, they are treated with an affectation of neglect and contempt which sinks them into silence, and with them suppresses the voice of the public good. Thus long experience has shown that an assembly of these States rarely produces the good expected from it; for that such might be its effect, the members ought to be equally instructed in true and honest policy; at least ignorance and knavery should sit dumb in the presence of men of knowledge and integrity; but such is always the character of multitudes, that for one wise man there are many fools, and presumption is the constant attendant of folly; and it is here more than in any place that great virtues, instead of exciting respect and emulation, provoke hatred and envy.

Besides, if the prince who holds these assemblies be powerful and fond of that power, he will easily defeat their schemes, or reduce them to silence; but if he be weak and unacquainted with his own rights, an unbounded licentiousness of debate will soon sink the kingdom into all the miseries that naturally follow the depression of the royal authority. Necessity, therefore, requires that there should be both in the sovereign and the subjects, a complete knowledge of their several rights and mutual obligations. The first law of a sovereign is, that he should keep the law, for he has himself

two sovereigns, God and the law: justice ought to preside on his throne, and gentleness to support it. God is the true owner of kingdoms, and monarchs are but the ministers, who ought to exhibit to the people a true copy of the perfections of Him in whose place they stand: and remember, that they do not govern like Him but when they govern as fathers. In hereditary monarchies, there is an hereditary mistake; the sovereign is master of the life and property of his subjects, and by means of these few words, *Such is our pleasure,* he is dispensed from giving the reasons of his conduct, and from having any reasons to give. Supposing this were really the right of a king, is it not the utmost degree of imprudence to incur voluntarily the hatred of those who must every moment have his life in their hands? And hated he must certainly be who forces a concession of power which he declares beforehand his intention to abuse.

With regard to subjects, the first law which religion, reason, and nature prescribe them, is to obey; their duty is to reverence, honour, and fear their princes, as representatives of the Supreme Governor, who may be said to appear visibly on earth by these his ministers, as He appears in heaven by the orbs of light. These duties they are to pay from a principle of gratitude, for the security and advantages they enjoy under the shelter of the royal authority: for the calamity of having an unjust, ambitious, and arbitrary king, they have no other remedy but that of softening him by submission, and propitiating God by prayer. All grounds of resistance, however solid they may be thought, will appear upon a careful examination, to be nothing more than artful and subtle pleas for disloyalty; nor has it been found that by this practice princes have been reformed or taxes abolished; but to the calamities, which gave room for complaints, has been added a new degree of misery, as may be found by inquiring into the sentiments of the lower people, and particularly those of the provinces.

Such are the principles upon which the mutual happiness of governors and subjects might easily be fixed, if in general assemblies of the nation, each party appeared fully convinced of the truth of these maxims; but supposing this the case, there would still be less need of general assemblies, to which recourse is never had but when there is some disagreement

between the members and the head. It may, however, be concluded, that as these assemblies are at present useless, both on account of the occasions on which they are called, and of the methods in which they proceed, so they might be of great efficacy for the support of regularity and general virtue, if the prince, acting as the real head of united members, would call them with no other purpose than to oblige those who lay down their employments to give an account of their administration in the face of the kingdom, and to choose with wisdom and discernment those by whom their places should be supplied; animating them to a due discharge of their offices by his exhortations, and by a public distribution of praise and censure, punishments and rewards.*

Henry, while he waited for the meeting of the assembly, took a journey to Arques, Dieppe, and Caudebec, &c., to view once more the places where so many memorable actions had been performed; I accompanied him throughout his journey.

When the king returned to Rouen, he opened the assembly by a speech uttered with a dignity becoming a great prince, and a sincerity with which princes are unacquainted; he declared that, to avoid all appearance of violence or compulsion, he had determined not to call an assembly of deputies named by the king, and blindly obsequious to all his inclinations, but that he gave admission at large to persons of all ranks and conditions, that men of knowledge and merit might have an opportunity to propose without fear whatever they thought necessary for the public good; that he would not at this time attempt to confine them to any limitations, but enjoined them not to make an ill use of this freedom from restriction by any attempt to lessen the sovereign authority, which is the chief strength of the kingdom; and exhorted them to establish union amongst their members, to give ease to the people, to clear the royal treasury from debts, which, though it was subject to them, it never had contracted; to show their justice in reducing exorbitant salaries, without lessening those that were necessary; and to settle, for time to come, a fund clear of incumbrances, and sufficient to maintain the army.

* There cannot, I think, be anything added to the justness of these sentiments. And we need only refer to them those who, like Comines, Boulainvilliers, &c., have taken the side of the States and the aristocratical party.

He added, that it should be no objection with him, that the measures proposed were not of his own contrivance, provided he found them dictated by justice and public spirit; that they should not find him pleading his age, his experience, or personal qualities, as an exemption from any just regulations, though princes often made excuses far less defensible; but that he would show by his example, that it was no less the business of kings to enforce edicts, than of subjects to obey them.*

Henry rose after this speech, declaring that neither he nor his council would be present at their consultations, that they might be wholly freed from constraint; and accordingly retired with all his councillors, leaving me only to lay before the assembly such accounts, memorials, and public papers, as were necessary for their information.

When I gave an account of the last assembly of these States at Paris, I spoke at large of their methods of proceeding, and the forms used in those great and numerous assemblies; and shall therefore only observe at present, that, excepting the subject of their deliberations, this assembly resembled the former. As they were now necessarily to come to some conclusion, particularly with relation to the subsidies, and to settle the method of raising them, they could think of nothing better to be done than to make a collection of old useless regulations of a nature contrary to the present state of affairs; instead of considering that the nation ought to be treated as a body afflicted with some new and extraordinary distemper, and therefore requiring an uncommon remedy, and that in proportion as its mechanism is better known, the

* "If I were desirous," says he, "to pass for an elaborate orator, I would have introduced here more fine words than good-will; but my ambition aims at something higher than to speak well: I aspire to the glorious titles of the deliverer and restorer of France. I have not called you together, as my predecessors have done, to oblige you blindly to approve of my will and pleasure; I have caused you to be assembled in order to receive your counsels, to depend upon them, and to follow them; in short, to put myself into your hands as my guardians: this is a declaration which is not very common for kings, for grey hairs, and conquerors like me to make; but the love which I bear my subjects, and the extreme fondness which I have to preserve my state, have made me find everything easy and everything honourable." (Pèrefixe, part ii.)

operations performed upon it ought to be altered; such is the force of prejudice, that men continue obstinately to attempt the cure of their present disorders, by means of which the inefficacy is demonstrated by their inability to prevent the evils or to stop their progress. An injudicious reverence for antiquity, a false notion of causes, occasioned by the distance of time; a want of diligent reflection on the past, and of clear views of the future, about which our self-love hinders us from coming to any agreement, all contribute to perpetuate the wrong measures of ancient times. It is a maxim with some, that laws and customs are not to be changed, a maxim to which I zealously adhere, except when the advantage, and what is much stronger, the necessity, of the public* requires their alteration.

Accordingly they amused themselves with raking old schemes out of the dust, and went on still enlarging the collection, which they found already to be of no value, till an impossibility came full in their view and destroyed their project; for it appeared that these old constitutions were adapted to a form of government in which royalty, though decorated

* The genius of the French nation, it is said, is such, that this alone renders all change, even the most useful and necessary, extremely dangerous for us: a system whose foundation, it seems, all the world at this day agrees, was excellent, and which, notwithstanding this, has had very troublesome consequences, makes us insist more than ever upon this consideration. The Duke of Sully, who lived at a time in which he did not want for proofs of the defects objected to the nation, would have answered to this, that two things are absolutely necessary in any nation whatever, in order to secure the success of such sort of enterprises: the first is an authority in the legislator, sufficiently great not to be obliged to change, or abate the least tittle of his plan through fear, policy, or compliance; the second is a wisdom equally great, to prepare all the means for putting it in execution. Amidst a great number of real changes that have been made in the different parts of the government, which will be seen in the sequel of these Memoirs, we may observe a still greater number of projects which have not been executed, though formed a great while ago: and what is the reason? why, because Henry the Great and his minister watched, and waited for, the proper conjunctures and circumstances, &c., which should render them certain and infallible. I will not scruple to say that perfect skill consists not in imagining, but in knowing, the hazards that proceed from too great precipitation, and too great slowness, to be aware of the proper opportunity; and, in short, to know how to conduct and how to prepare for it.

with a specious title, was a state of servitude, and could not therefore be applied to a period when the public interest had concentred in a single person the authority which was formerly distributed amongst a great many, and had established monarchy as the surest foundation of general security.

This fancy was followed by another, which engaged them for a time by some specious appearances, though, in effect, it was no less inconvenient than the former. This was the establishment of a new council, which they thought proper to denominate the Council of Reason, whose members should be first named by the assembly, and afterwards by the sovereign courts. But there was already a council of this kind, and that very council had been apparently the cause of the disorders of the finances and the misery of the nation. This signified nothing; the whole multitude suffered themselves to be so dazzled by a fine name and a new election, that it was proposed and determined to make the evil itself its own remedy. It was settled that the new council should divide into two portions the revenues of the king, which they estimated without much examination at thirty millions;* that they should keep one-half in their own hands for the discharge of arrears, pensions, wages of officers, and other public debts and engagements; and that out of the same sum they should repair or erect towns, buildings, roads, or other public works; and that of this sum neither the king nor the sovereign court should have power to take cognizance, or examine the application. It may easily be imagined how the members of the council flattered their rapacity by an absolute and uncontrollable disposal of half the revenues of the state: let us for a moment suppose them dishonest in their management, what numbers must be distressed, what confusion and ruin must ensue!

The other part was left to the king, to be managed by him or his ministers, with equal exemption from account; this

* The author is right in saying that this computation is not exact, since—notwithstanding the augmentation of the king's revenues, and the clearing of his debts that happened under his ministry, and which may be seen in the sequel of these Memoirs to amount to a very considerable sum—Cardinal Richelieu did not value the whole revenues of the state, after all the alterations which he himself had made, at more than thirty-five millions. (Test. Pol. part ii. p. 152.)

was burdened with all the expenses of the artillery and fortifications, all foreign affairs, embassies, and negotiations, the support of his household, his buildings, and his equipage, the payment of his officers, and his privy purse. Neither party was confined by any prescription as to the manner of raising or managing either share of the revenue; provided they preserved that mutual independence on which the projectors valued themselves; as if the strength of the kingdom did not depend upon the power of assisting, according to their respective need, any part that should happen to be in distress, and supplying the sick, if I may use the expression, with the superfluous blood of those that are in health.

As the thirty millions at which the royal revenues have been rated were suspected to be somewhat more than their real value, they resolved to create a new tax, by laying a penny in the shilling upon all merchandises,* and provisions bought and sold in the kingdom, by wholesale or retail. When they computed the amount of the trade of particular persons, and the expenses of necessity, convenience, and luxury, they concluded that this new tax might safely be rated at five millions; and the happy notion was applauded a thousand times, though in reality the scheme was no less chimerical than the new computation was defective.†

When the assembly had thus brought their scheme to perfection in all its branches, they sent it by their deputies to the king, who received the proposal in his council; the indignation raised by this project instantly appeared by such a confusion of outcries and murmurs, that the king had great difficulty to make the council give their votes separately. The field of discussion was boundless; every man was made eloquent by vexation and resentment. When my turn came, I contented

* Corn was the only thing that was exempted.

† M. de Sully thinks and speaks of the establishing a *sous* or penny in the shilling, as almost every other person thought and spoke of it at that time. Le Grain is nevertheless favourable to this tax. (Liv. vi.) Matthieu does not condemn it; and what is of greater weight, Cardinal Richelieu finds it to be so much the more just, as it is established, says he, in divers other states, and had been already resolved on by a body of the state under Francis I. However, the difficulties and inconveniences which M. de Sully mentions in the sequel are real, and partly the same which made Richelieu be the first entirely to dissuade Louis XIII. from establishing it. (Test. Pol. part ii. chap. 9, sec. 7.)

myself with saying coldly, that I had nothing to add to such fine harangues. The king, who observed me attentively, and wondered at my reserve, resolved to have a private conversation with me before he gave the suffrage which was to determine for or against the scheme of the assembly; he, therefore, adjourned the consideration of the affair till the next day, in the presence of the same persons. When we were alone, he asked me with great eagerness the reason of my silence, and I made him the following observations.

It is certain that the assembly was so much infatuated with the new plan, that the king, by following the opinion of the council, who wished him to reject and annul it with contempt, risked the danger of giving birth to a discontent the more serious, as the States assembled acknowledged no superior who had any right to control them, not even the king. One of the most important maxims of a monarchical government is, that the prince ought, above all things, to be particularly careful never to reduce his subjects to the necessity of disobeying him either in word or deed. Moreover, the king would have acted directly contrary to the promise he had made to the assembly, that he would agree to their decisions. In short, had the king rejected it, all those who had conceived the project, and those who had adopted it, would have persisted the more obstinately in representing it as the true system of affairs, since they would not have been undeceived by its application; and they would in the end have asserted that it was the sovereign alone who had prevented the establishment in France of a system, which had been so long and so ardently wished for. Everybody knows that it is the disposition of the people, especially of those who have spirit and resentment, to abuse the actions of their sovereign.

On the other hand, it was equally certain that this project was at once destructive in its tendency and impracticable in its execution; to give full conviction of this, the least knowledge of the finances was sufficient. Besides the obstructions which I have just been mentioning, how many more must arise from the competitions which would be produced by any election of the members of the council, who were to be taken equally from all the provinces of the kingdom. No sooner would this scheme, which was now only sketched out,

be branched into particulars, than that appearance of impartiality and justice, by which the conduct of public affairs must be necessarily thrown into the hands of new and inexperienced men, would occasion innumerable miscalculations and mistakes. It was apparent that the heads of the new council would immediately grow giddy, and that all the measures they would take would add blunder upon blunder.

From the impossibility that any advantage could arise from this scheme, I drew my arguments to persuade the king to consent to it: by which means he would obtain, in the eyes of his people, the honour of falling readily into the measures which they themselves had marked out; and this condescension would be so far from lessening the royal authority, that, when the new council had made the melancholy experiment of their strength, he would ultimately receive this advantage, that all the parts of the finances would fall back into his hands, with exemption from dependence. As the calculation of the royal revenues was made by the assembly, and the council selected from it, it was to be supposed that they had taken in all necessary considerations relating to those payments, of which the collection was most difficult and expensive: they could not, therefore, take it amiss, if the king chose his fifteen millions out of that part which he liked best. Choosing for his share the revenues of the five great farms, *des parties casuelles*, *du domaine*, and *des aides*, he might expect, without presumption, to see them doubled, if not trebled, in a short time. This I spoke with full confidence, because I had already provided myself with responsible people, who had engaged to take these farms at a considerable advance. With respect to that which remained in the hands of the Council of Reason, the case was quite otherwise; and I would have been bound to the king, that the penny in the shilling, amongst others, would not, when all expenses were defrayed, bring in above two hundred thousand crowns clear money.

The reason why I did not give this opinion openly in the council, was, because I thought it proper that it should seem to come from the king himself. The king, after having heard me with great attention, was afraid lest my advice should bring him into difficulties, and into a mistake in some sort irretrievable; but, having considered my reasons very seriously, he resolved to follow my opinion.

When the council met next day, they determined as the day before, and I determined in the same manner. The king declaring that he could not follow their advice, left them in the utmost astonishment, and went into the assembly, where he declared, in strong terms, that, finding himself disposed to promote, with all his power, the inclinations of so wise a body, he received their scheme without any qualification or restriction, which he considered as consisting of three articles,—the erection of an independent council, the division of the public revenues, and the levy of a penny in the shilling: that the assembly had nothing to do but in twenty-four hours to name the council; to give in a schedule of the thirty millions, that he might choose his own share; and that they should see by his conduct whether he or the council were the better economists. The goodness and compliance of the king were loudly praised; and the council, finding itself concluded by a determination so unanimous, which left no further room for debate, at least between the king and his subjects, thought of nothing but returning to Paris, there to conclude this masterpiece of policy.

The new council was not formed with as little disturbance as had been expected; that change of temper, which retarded the election, was so great, that penetrating persons saw from that moment how chimerical a scheme had been embraced by the multitude. The nomination was at last completed, in which the clergy were very busy from the first; and the Cardinal de Gondy,* famous for his economical abilities, was put at its head, as if public affairs were to be administered by the same rules as those of a private house. The Council of Reason held their meetings regularly in the episcopal palace, where the cardinal had assigned them an apartment. But no sooner had they begun to lay papers upon the table for the collection of the payments of the next year, than these new financiers were so much perplexed, that they knew not on which side to turn them. The further they went, the greater the perplexity; they found nobody that would undertake for the penny in the shilling; the farmers asked for other funds, but at a discount which put them quite at

* Peter de Gondy, Bishop of Paris, and brother to Albert de Gondy, Duke of Retz, a peer and marshal of France, of whom we have spoken before.

a loss; and, to add to their vexation, the business could not be delayed. All the pensioners of the state came upon them, and talked of nothing but millions, to people that had not yet got a single farthing. Chagrin and vexation soon broke the unanimity of the new council; they began immediately to quarrel, and reproach one another with ignorance and rashness.

Matters were come, in a few weeks, to this pass, that the Council of Reason could do nothing reasonably; and they were forced to apply to D'Incarville and myself, and begged of us to come, at least once a week, and give them such counsel as we gave the king, whose part of the revenue they saw increasing and flourishing day after day. I excused myself on account of my employ, which entirely occupied me. They then addressed the king, who, with his ordinary goodness, commanded me to go; but I did not forget, on this occasion, what was necessary to his service. I lamented the state of affairs with the council; I found no means of extrication, and I helped forward nothing but perplexity. In short, scarce three months had passed, before these profound politicians, being at the end of all their art, and sinking under their burden, went to the king to beg to be discharged. The king, who, I believe, began to like this new regulation, which set him at ease, told them that everything was difficult at first, advised them to take heart, and sent them away confuted by their own reasons. But they soon came back, and changed their entreaties to importunity; confessed that they had been in the wrong when they undertook to govern the kingdom, and showed a thousand times more satisfaction on their dismission from their employment, than they had done at their advancement to it.

This burden fell upon me, as an addition to that with which I was already loaded, and my labour was so great that it required both my days and nights. As I had a kind of passion for the re-establishment of the finances, I made prodigious advances in the ancient registers of the council of state, the parliaments, the chambers of accounts, and the courts of aids, and even in the private accounts of the former secretaries of state, for the new ones would not communicate theirs. I did the same thing in the offices of the treasurers of France, in the treasury chamber, and in the papers of the treasurers

of the exchequer.* I raked even into that vast collection where all the ordonnances are kept inscribed. Having a design to draw up a general state of the finances for the year 1595, which was the end of all my researches, I thought fit to neglect nothing, that I might come, as near as was possible, in the first year of my management, to the exactness to which I earnestly desired to carry it. Whatever fraud or mistake had crept into the finances, I imagined that it could be neither so great nor so general, but I should be able to prove and show its original, by comparing these pieces, which I have been mentioning, or by the inferences to be drawn from them, with a due observation of the different propor tions of various times and alterations of affairs.

The people of the king's council were terrified at the sight of my project, and beginning to imagine that I should throw everything open, blamed themselves now more than ever for not having vigorously opposed my admission into the council. Maisses, to whom I must do this justice, that as soon as he discovered my intentions he joined his endeavours with mine, gave me information of their terrors and regret. To confirm them in their suspicions, I declared in public that I had obtained such intelligence respecting the finances, that they would be presently regulated upon another plan; and I desired that the comptroller-general, the intendant of the finances of France, the treasurer of the exchequer, and the receivers-general, should be joined with me, in order to draw up this general state of the finances, of which these very men were in such terror. I took care, however, to keep the pen always between my own fingers. But I could not this time avoid falling into several considerable errors, nor escape being tricked by these old practitioners. I think it is no shame to confess it; this very year they gained a profit of one-fifth, which was exorbitant, though infinitely less than their ordinary gains. I proposed the next year to remedy

* "Rosny, before he entered upon his office of superintendent, had furnished himself with all the necessary information, the better to enable him to acquit himself therein; he perfectly knew all the revenues of the kingdom, and all the expenses necessary in raising them; he communicated whatever he knew of this matter to the king, who had in like manner studied all these things thoroughly himself," &c. (Pèrefixe, p. 225.)

both this and another mistake which I had committed. One of the chief artifices of the financiers was to make the expenses of the current year appear to be much more than the receipts, and to anticipate the revenues of the following year, by which means the expense of the next year, and of all the rest in succession, were thrown into confusion, from which these men drew many advantages, particularly that of appearing never to have money which was not pre-engaged long before, and of being able to allege this excuse to the king, and all those whom they were not inclined to pay. In the second place, they made use of that money; and, to conclude, they paid off the old debts at a very low price, and yet charged them entire in their accounts. This negligence of mine cost the kingdom this year two millions.

This fault I corrected the following year, during my residence in Brittany; so that from that time forward the receipts and expenses exactly agreed: and in the mean time, to fill up the deficiency which my mistake had made, I took the *parties casuelles*, *les gabelles*, the five great farms, and the toll of the rivers, out of the hands of the Duke of Florence, who held them under the names of Gondy, Senamy, Zamet, Le Grand, Parent, L'Argentier, and other old managers, who had no share in the new finances; and I increased these farms with two millions that had been lost by miscomputation. The contractors for the finances and their associates of the council were thunderstruck at this last blow; but for this time their spite vented itself in smoke, the king having supported me for some time in a manner so conspicuous, as sunk them all into inactive despondency. The consequence of his conduct to the assembly was, that he was made master, not only of the pretended Council of Reason, but likewise of his own, whose authority was now declining; and he had no longer cause to fear that his designs would miscarry, as formerly, by their obstruction.

The design in which he was then actually engaged was the siege of Arras, which had been proposed in the council of war, which, excepting only the secretary, consisted merely of men of action: it had there passed without opposition; but the resolution was kept secret, because only by concealment could we be assured of success. That the merchants with

whom I agreed for supplies of all necessary provisions might know nothing of the matter, I named to them a great number of cities along the whole frontier of Picardy, and Arras among the rest; at any of which they bound themselves to deliver, during the whole campaign, fifty thousand loaves a day. Santeny, Robin de Tours, Mauleville, and Lambert, chevalier de Guet d'Orleans, engaged likewise for the conveyance of everything else, and particularly of twenty-five cannon. The contract was made at so low a rate, that if the misfortune that happened at Amiens a short time after had not obliged us to draw thither the forces designed against Arras, the contractors would have been considerable losers, but, as it happened, they made a reasonable profit.

BOOK IX.

[1597—1598.]

Diversions at court—The Spaniards surprise Amiens—Rosny contrives the means of retaking this place—He is put at the head of the council of finances in the king's absence—His labours in the finances, and disputes with the council—The siege of Amiens, all the necessaries for which are supplied by Rosny—The Protestants mutiny during this siege—Their designs—Death of Saint-Luc—Henry promises Rosny the post of grand master of the ordnance, but gives it to D'Estrées—Rosny made governor of Mantes—The Spaniards attempt in vain to succour Amiens—It is taken—An account of Henry's letters upon different subjects—Enterprises after the siege of Amiens: some fail, others are executed—Negotiations for a peace—Henry IV. goes into Brittany—Cabals of the Calvinists to obtain a favourable edict—Henry gives audience to the English and Dutch ambassadors, who cannot prevail upon him to continue the war—Edict of Nantes—Henry's conversation with the Duke of Bouillon—A singular conversation between Henry IV. and Rosny upon the dissolution of his marriage, and his passion for the Duchess of Beaufort—Henry returns to Paris—Goes to Picardy—Conclusion and ceremonies of the peace of Vervins.

THE preparations that were making for war did not prevent their enjoying at Paris all the amusements that winter commonly brings along with it. The gentleness of the government secured the tranquillity of the public, who tasted all the sweets of it, without any of that alloy which for so long a time had embittered all their pleasures. Gallantry, shows, play, took up the time of the courtiers; and the king, who liked these diversions through taste, permitted them through policy. Monsieur and Madame de Fervaques entreated me to allow of the addresses of Monsieur de Laval,* the son of

* William de Hautemer, Count de Grancy, Lord of Fervaques, who afterwards became a marshal of France. His wife was Andrée d'Allegre, widow of Guy, Count de Laval, whose son was likewise called Guy, the twentieth of that name, Count de Laval, de Montfort, &c., who was some time after killed in Hungary; in him ended that branch of Laval, or rather of Rieux, which continued only in the female line, for this Guy, Count de Laval, was of the house of Coligny.

this lady, to my eldest daughter. I referred them to the king, without whose consent I could not now dispose of my daughter, since it had been proposed by the princess to marry her to Monsieur de Rohan, with whom the king being at that time offended, he approved of Monsieur de Laval.

From engagements of this nature, the court had every day the pleasure of a new entertainment, the most splendid of which was given by the constable, at the solemnity of baptizing his son. This was the pretence; but it was well known that one of the most beautiful young ladies of the court, and who was afterwards married to an old man, was the real object of these gallantries. Montmorency chose from amongst the courtiers, twelve noblemen for his ballet, who he thought would appear there with the greatest magnificence, and prevailed upon the king to lay his commands upon me to be of this number. The elegance and propriety with which it was conducted, and which is the very essence of these sort of diversions, was superior to anything I had ever seen of the kind. This entertainment was universally allowed to have greatly excelled all that went before it; it was likewise the last, and an unfortunate event happened at the conclusion. I retired about two in the morning, and had been an hour and a half in bed, when I saw Beringhen enter my chamber, with the utmost consternation painted in his countenance: he could but just tell me that the king wanted me, and assure me, in answer to my inquiries, that no accident had happened to his person; for this was the first question I asked, and his reply comforted me beforehand for the misfortune, whatever it might be, since I saw none that was absolutely irremediable but such as threatened his life. I put on my clothes hastily, and ran to the Louvre in great anxiety of mind: upon my entering the king's chamber, I saw him walking about very fast, his arms folded, his head reclined, and all the marks of a deep uneasiness* impressed on his

* "Being as it were thunderstruck at this, and yet looking up to heaven as he commonly does more in adversity than prosperity, he spoke aloud, 'This blow is from heaven!' Then, pausing a little, said, 'I have sufficiently acted the part of King of France, it is time now that I assume the character of King of Navarre:' and turning to the marchioness, who wept, 'We must quit our present warfare, and take horse to engage in another.'" (L'Etoile.)

countenance. The courtiers stood in different corners of the room, leaning against the arras, without uttering a single word.

The king coming to meet me, pressed my hand with great emotion, crying, "Ah, my friend, what a misfortune! Amiens is taken!" I confess, I continued immovable, like all the rest, at this unforeseen blow. A place so strong, so well provided with everything that was necessary, so near to Paris, and on the side of Picardy the only key to the kingdom, to be taken so suddenly, ere we could be informed that it was threatened with an attack! The thing was almost incredible, and the general consternation appeared to be too well grounded. However, I took my resolution immediately; and while the king, who had received this news as he was preparing to go to bed, related to me the manner in which the Spaniards with some sacks of walnuts had surprised this important place,* I reflected that, instead of increasing to no purpose the general dismay, prudence suggested that, in the present circumstances, it was necessary to keep up every one's spirits, and to comfort the king. I therefore told him that I had in good time just put the finishing stroke to a scheme, by which not only Amiens, but several other places, would be restored to him without much difficulty.

This hint alone seemed on a sudden to have robbed the late misfortune of half its force; and although it did not hinder the king from reflecting on all the difficulties of an enterprise which might have very fatal consequences, yet, as the astonishment the courtiers were in left them nothing to

* It was on the 11th of March. Hernand Teillo de Portocarrero, a Spaniard, the author of this scheme, had disguised like countrymen and countrywomen, carrying goods to market, about thirty Spaniards, who stopped up one of the gates of the town, and amused the guard by overturning at the entrance thereof a cart loaded with sacks full of filberts, one of which became untied; and during this time some Spanish troops, who lay concealed behind the hedges, marched up, and putting the guard to the sword, made themselves masters of the town. (See an account of this in all the historians, under the year 1597.) Hernand Teillo was killed in bravely defending this town against Henry IV. He used to say that the three greatest commanders he knew were, Henry for the conduct of a large army, the Duke of Mayenne for the siege of a town, and Marshal Biron for a battle. (Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 232.)

say in answer to the king's interrogatories but what tended to increase his disquietude, his hopes were greatly raised by what I had said, and he desired to know what methods they were by which I proposed to serve him. I replied, that he should be informed by the papers I had drawn up for that purpose; and I went out as if to fetch them, leaving the king at least in a more composed state of mind than I had found him. Had he been a witness of my perplexity and uneasiness when I was alone in my closet, he would have suppressed part of those praises which he bestowed on me when I quitted his chamber; for then it was that, resigning myself up to reflection, I comprehended the whole extent of those misfortunes which might be expected from the present posture of affairs. The king's treasure exhausted, not a single regiment fit for service, at the same time that there was an absolute necessity both for money and troops in great abundance, and that without any delay.

I read over my private memoirs; I revolved in my mind all those schemes for levying money which I had employed my leisure hours in concerting, foreseeing that the king would soon have an occasion for them. Most of these schemes might be reduced to two different classes; one very easy and plain, wherein all that was necessary to be done was to augment the land-tax and other imposts already established; the other, more difficult, which consisted in contriving new sources from whence money might be drawn. The first I did not think it prudent to have recourse to, since, after all the hardships which the country people had endured, to oppress them still more by an augmentation of taxes, the sole weight of which falls upon them, and at a time when they had but just begun to breathe again, was to complete the ruin of the state, and to deprive the king himself, for the future, of his most abundant and, in one sense, his most certain resources.

I then turned my thoughts another way, and fixed upon the following project, which was, to demand of the clergy a free gift for a year, if not for two years, and oblige them to make immediate payment; to augment the old offices with new members, four in each sovereign court, besides four masters of accounts in every chamber, two in every office in the finances, two offices of counsellor in every presidial

court, an assessor in every royal tribunal, and an elect in every election; to add a third to all the officers of the finances;* to keep back half a year's payment of the arrears of sums borrowed from the contractors in the last reign; to increase the tax on salt fifteen sous a pottle, and to leave it always in that state, because such an increase would give room for the suppression of certain offices too chargeable to the public; to raise the entry of goods and the tolls of rivers a third part, by a new estimate; and, as all these measures gave us, for the most part, only the hope of money, to begin by borrowing twelve hundred thousand livres from the richest people of the court and principal cities, and to assign them payments out of an augmentation of the *gabelles* and five great farms; and, to supply the ready money which we should have occasion for besides, to raise a prosecution in the chamber of justice against the old contractors, who had made considerable fortunes, and oblige them to bear a new tax, in form of a loan.

This plan was indeed of sufficient extent. However, it was not my intention that these methods should be all made use of at once; but, being uncertain how long the war would continue, they might be employed successively, beginning with those which were the least burdensome. With regard to the troops that were necessary, I thought nothing better could be done than to raise them in those provinces of the kingdom which had no longer any occasion for defence. Thus, I taxed the Isle of France, by joining Berry to it, with a complete regiment; the Orleannais with Touraine was to furnish a second; and Normandy itself a third. These regiments were each to consist of fifteen hundred men, to be furnished and maintained by the provinces from the day of their arrival before Amiens till their departure; because these provinces enjoyed the right of calling the regiments by their own name, and of appointing the officers.

Five days after, I carried my project to the king, with the proper evidences, formally drawn up in thirteen papers. His

* The offices of the finances were possessed by two persons: the first was called l'Ancien; the second, who had been appointed after, was called l'Alternatif; and this third was called Triennal, because he had every third year his rotation with the other two, who alone had the privilege of reimbursing the Triennal.

majesty retired to examine them with me, in the presence of D'Arambure, Lomenie, Beringhen, and L'Oserai. When I had finished reading them, I told the king that, with these supplies, there was nothing to retard his departure for the expedition of Amiens; since all the necessary preparations for a camp in Picardy were already made in such a manner that I durst assure his majesty his army would there find not only provision in great plenty, but likewise everything requisite for mere convenience, with the same ease and at the same price as in a city. I added, that, whatever resource this scheme might afford the king in his present necessities, his majesty must not imagine it could be carried into execution without increasing the number of those wounds of which France was yet far from being wholly cured; that he need only take a slight view of the immense debts and engagements with which the state was overburdened; that, to an exhausted state, a new tax, however disguised, is always the same; that the war, therefore, should not be renewed, but with a view of procuring an advantageous peace, which was now become absolutely necessary; and that, however great the public misery was at present, I was fully convinced that twelve years of continued peace would be sufficient to restore the kingdom to a flourishing condition.

I did not doubt but that by the conduct which the king appeared disposed to observe, the enemy, notwithstanding the advantages he had gained, would be the first to wish for the termination of the war; and at that time I freely disclosed a thought to the king, the justness of which was verified by the event; and this was, that the first overtures for a peace would be made by the King of Spain, whom policy, in that state of weakness and incapacity to which the common course of nature had reduced him, would not permit to expose his crown to the uncertain chances of war, always to be feared, but chiefly in the beginning of a prince's reign who was still a child. I even went so far as to predict, that Spain would purchase peace by the restoration of all the towns she had taken from France.

My scheme for raising money was so much approved by the king, that he resolved to propose it himself in full council; but he communicated it beforehand to a kind of little council of war, composed of the Duke of Montpensier, Mes-

sieurs de Montmorency, de Mayenne, d'Auvergne, de Biron, d'Ornano, de Bellegarde, de Saint-Luc, de Fervaques, de Roquelaure, and De Frontenac. He afterwards summoned an extraordinary council, to which he admitted all in Paris who had a right to a place there, particularly the chief persons of the assembly of Rouen, who still resided there. The king could take no happier measures to establish his authority upon the weakness of this great assembly, which was now acknowledged by themselves. He began with lamenting the loss of Amiens, declaring the necessity there was to recover this city as soon as possible, giving in a full plan of all that was requisite for that purpose; he concluded with asking the advice of all who were present, concerning the means of carrying it into execution, complaining, in order to conceal from them what he himself had to propose, that his most useful and necessary enterprises were always opposed by difficulties, and retarded by delays.

Here the king stopped, as if to wait for the deliberations of the assembly. Each looked upon the other without uttering a single word; at length the nobles broke silence, but it was only to refer the affair to the financiers, who in their turn replied that it belonged only to the nobles. Henry urging them to deliver their opinions, some general proposals for new levies were made, which were immediately opposed by one-half of the assembly; and the councillors recovered their speech simultaneously to ridicule in a confused and disorderly manner, whatever might be offered by either party; the king, seizing that moment when their animosity was carried to such a height that there was not the least probability of their coming to any agreement, drew the memorial out of his pocket, telling them, that, although he had but little experience in the affairs of the finances, yet upon the present occasion he would offer his opinion, which he was always ready to give up for a better: he then prepared to read the paper, which threw the whole assembly into a fixed attention, and afterwards into an astonishment that rendered them speechless and immovable. Henry suffered them to remain in this silence for a moment or two, then declaring that he understood it as a unanimous consent, added, that as he had no intention to make use of all those measures at

one time, he would begin by borrowing the sum of twelve hundred thousand livres; and exhorted the nobles and the wealthiest persons in the kingdom to comply voluntarily with the present necessity of the times, and to depend upon his royal word, that the lenders should have their principal reimbursed in the space of two years, together with the interest. His majesty then brought forward the fifteen sous upon salt, the establishment of a triennial officer in the finances, and an inquiry into the conduct of fraudulent contractors. The affair was decreed, and a decree drawn up upon this plan. We had in a very little time three hundred thousand crowns voluntarily lent; the creation of the triennial officers brought in twelve hundred thousand, and the same sum was drawn from the collectors of taxes, to whom the treasurers of France were joined, but were suffered however to tax themselves.

The council of the finances, accustomed to rejoice in the calamity of the people, were soon comforted under these new subsidies, provided they might pass through their hands. They represented to the king, after having greatly commended his memorial, that the success of it depended upon his employing persons of great experience, quick despatch, and possessed of a full power to execute it. The king replied, that the person he was resolved to employ should be invested with his authority; and that with regard to the other qualities, he fixed upon me (I was present at this discourse) as the most industrious and most prudent amongst them, although the youngest. He expressed himself in yet stronger terms to Schomberg (whom his majesty visited just before his departure on account of an indisposition* that confined him to his bed), and to the councillors he found in the sick count's chamber. He told them that, as I only should bear the blame if he were not supplied with everything he had occa-

* Gaspard Schomberg, Count de Nanteuil. This disorder was a difficulty of breathing, which, on opening his body after death, was found to proceed from an ossification of the left side of the pericardium and some of the neighbouring parts. He was employed in drawing up the Edict of Nantes, as will be observed hereafter; and he did many other services to the state. M. de Thou highly commends his character and abilities, both as a warrior and as a statesman.

sion for while he employed himself wholly in fighting against his enemies, so he was resolved that everything should be regulated in the council agreeably to my directions. And accordingly, before he went away, he invested me with his whole authority. This mortified Schomberg to such a degree, that he chose rather to go and serve at the siege, than see me at the head of the finances. Sancy likewise left the council, to hold his rank in the army as colonel of the Swiss.

The gentlemen of the council gave me still more reason to suspect them, of which I had a proof in the affair of the triennial offices. After having recorded the edict by which they were created, I endeavoured to raise as much money as was possible from these offices. And to deprive the gentlemen of the council of all means of serving at a low rate any relation or friend, as was usual with them, I applied myself with as much assiduity to the pen as any clerk or treasurer *des parties casuelles;* and not satisfied with using this precaution, I gave a note under my hand to each purchaser, who was obliged to carry it to the treasurer, from whom, after laying down the money, he received an acquittance, and both were to be produced to me.

All artifice becoming ineffectual, the contractors had recourse to a method which, doubtless, had seldom failed before: they attempted to corrupt me with bribes. Robert de Tours, a very considerable contractor, after conferring with the council, whom he had gained over to his interest, came to my house, and entreated one of my secretaries to procure him an interview with my wife, to whom he offered a jewel worth six thousand crowns as a present for me, and another worth two thousand for herself, that I might not oppose a determination of the council, who had assigned to him the nomination of all the triennial officers in the districts of Tours and Orleans, for the sum of seventy-two thousand crowns. He was introduced to me by Madame de Rosny, whom, by a severe reprimand in the contractor's presence, I made sensible of the fault she had committed. Nor did I spare him, in order to prevent such attempts for the future. He left me greatly surprised, and probably as much discontented, at my behaviour. I had just been refusing from another contractor sixty thousand crowns, for one-half of that for which he had before offered me seventy-two thousand for

the whole; and that very evening, that half brought me eighty thousand crowns, because I divided it into small parcels.

This employment detained me at home all that day and the following, for I thought it of more consequence than to attend the chancellor's summons, who had sent a serjeant of the council twice to me, to desire I would come thither and finish an affair which would procure the king, he said, seventy-five thousand crowns of ready money. I went as soon as I was disengaged, without thinking any more of Robert de Tours. The chancellor, upon my entering the council-chamber, made me some slight reproaches for my negligence; I answered him bluntly, that I had been more useful to the king in my closet. "We have been no less so here," returned the chancellor, who sought to enhance the value of the service he had done the king in procuring him this ready money, by the necessity his majesty was in for it, he having in two successive letters demanded some of the council. When I discovered that this was the money which had just before been offered me by the contractor De Tours, he having only added three thousand crowns more to the sum, I represented to these gentlemen in very strong terms, that since they could not be ignorant that Robert had first applied to me, they ought not to have concluded without my knowledge an affair which had appeared to me to be unjust.

Finding that they were endeavouring to impose upon me, partly by complaint, and partly by an air of authority, I told them plainly, that if I had been of a disposition to be gained by bribes, the bargain would not have fallen to them; but that since the king relied upon my fidelity, I would not fail to give him every proof of it in my power. The Chancellor, Fresne, and La Grange-le-Roi, stung to the quick with the reproach conveyed in these words, had the assurance to mention immediately, that a bargain by which the king lost more than half of what was due to him, was, notwithstanding, more advantageous for him (since he was paid with ready money), than mine, by which I commonly allowed the purchasers the term of six months for the payment of the second moiety. They did not stop here, but reproached me with setting myself up for a reformer of the finances; and declared, with an air of contempt, that they were able to support their bargain against mine, and that an individual ought not to presume to

cancel a decree of the whole body. Upon this, growing violent, the council determined that their assignment to Robert de Tours should take place.

I did not think proper to say one word more concerning this unjustifiable method of proceeding, nor upon the regulation that was made in consequence of it, which was, that thenceforward the council would pay no regard to private notes. But when Fayet, the secretary, brought me this arrêt to sign, I refused to do so till I had received the king's answer to a letter, in which, as I told Fayet, I had suppressed no part of the truth, nor concealed the persons; this letter gave Fayet some apprehensions, as I designed it should; he entreated me to show it him, and pretending to be overcome by his importunity, I yielded. It turned entirely upon the underhand practices which Robert had made use of to gain the gentlemen of the council; all which I had had the good fortune to discover. I likewise gave the king to understand that this contractor had procured the favour of the council by making Madame de Sourdis,* the chancellor's mistress, the same offers which I had rejected; to which he had added other presents to Madame de Deuilly, a relation of the chancellor, and Fresne's mistress. Fayet, repeating the contents of my letter to the persons most concerned in it, they sent him back immediately to entreat I would not send it: the decree was suppressed, and Robert's bargain cancelled.

In this manner I divided my labours, between the care of receiving the money of the state, and laying it out advan-

* Isabel Babou de la Bourdaisière, the wife of Francis d'Escoubleau, Marquis de Sourdis; she had an elder sister, called Frances, who was married to Antony d'Estrées, and mother to the fair Gabrielle; and likewise a younger sister, who married Claude de Beauvilliers, the Count de Saint-Aignan. The whole of this family was strangely cried down and satirised in the "Amours du Grand Alcandre," and other sarcastical libels of that time, even as far back as the grandmother of these three ladies, who was called Mary Gaudin. All the daughters of this line were remarkably beautiful. Leo X. was so charmed with the beauty of Mary Gaudin at Boulogne, where he had seen her, when he had a conference with Francis I., that he presented her with a diamond, called by domestic tradition Gaudin's diamond. It is Amelot de la Houssaye who speaks thus; and he has collected several such-like anecdotes of the whole family, to which I refer the curious reader, in the article "Babou de la Bourdaisière.

tageously for the necessities of the army, which wanted neither provisions nor artillery during the whole time that the siege of Amiens continued. I took a journey regularly every month to the camp, carrying with me each time fifteen hundred thousand crowns, which procured me the friendship of all the principal officers, who were not accustomed to such exact payments. I extended my cares and solicitude even to the private soldiers, by establishing an hospital in the camp, so convenient and so well attended, that several persons of quality went thither to be cured of their diseases or wounds.*

The king's solicitude for the safety of my person, which, indeed, he almost carried to excess, more than compensated for all my trouble. Saint-Luc, to whom the Count de la Guiche had resigned the post of master-general of the ordnance, took me with him to see his lodgments, knowing my fondness for that part of the military art; this engaged me very far in the trenches and other places in which there was some danger. The king being informed of it, gave me a severe reprimand, absolutely forbidding me to appear at any hazardous post; and said publicly on this occasion, that I had enemies even in the camp, who so eagerly desired my death that they would voluntarily expose themselves to any danger, provided I shared it with them. It was hardly possible for one who had been a soldier not to feel his former ardour for war revive, when near a prince who was equal to every military duty, and performed all with an application so unwearied and a courage so invincible, as might have animated hearts the least sensible to glory.

His example, however, did not produce the same effect upon all. In the very midst of his camp a cabal of mutinous Protestants was formed, headed by Messieurs de la Trémouille, de Bouillon, and Du Plessis, which gave the king great uneasiness. Going to pay my respects to him before I returned again to Paris, I found him in deep affliction; he had just received certain intelligence that these three gentlemen, in concert with the two Saint-Germains, de Clan,

* D'Aubigné relates, that it was commonly said at that time that Henry IV. had brought Paris with him before Amiens, to show the abundance that reigned in his camp. He likewise brought his mistress to Pecquigny, at which the Marshal de Biron and other general officers murmured very much.

and De Beaupré, D'Aubigné,* La Case, La Vallière, La Sausaie, La Bertichère, Preaux, Bassignac, Ragnac, Bessais, Constant, and other Protestants to the number of twenty, had held an assembly of the whole body, wherein they had made a proposal, which they supported with all the power and influence they had, to take advantage of the opportunity the siege of Amiens afforded them,† which could not be carried on without their assistance, to force an edict from the king entirely to their satisfaction; or if he refused, to do themselves justice, by taking up arms against him. Happily for

* This is the historian D'Aubigné: his name is Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné: his birth, his services, and his courage, gained him great reputation among the Calvinist party: he retired in 1620 to Geneva, where he died in 1631, aged eighty, leaving behind him only one son, called Constans d'Aubigné, whose daughter was Frances d'Aubigné, the late Marchioness de Maintenon. Addias de Chaumont, Lord of La Bertichère, brother to John de Chaumont, the Marquis de Guitry; his posterity is still extant. (Hector de Preaux, &c.)

† It is certain that it was to this conjuncture of the siege of Amiens, and the several steps which the Calvinists of France took to profit by it, that they owed the famous edict of Nantes, which was granted them the year following. The Duke of Bouillon does not deny this. All the reasons by which he justifies his conduct may be seen in Marsolier, liv. v., but the best of all is the protest which he and Du Plessis-Mornay make, that whatever might apparently be the view of the Calvinists in these assemblies at Saumur, Laudun, and Vendôme, which were called together immediately one after the other, and conducted with a great deal of warmth, neither they nor the other heads of the party ever had an intention of deliberating therein upon taking up arms, but only amicably to endeavour to obtain equitable conditions. We could wish, solely for the entire justification of the Duke of Bouillon, that there had not been reason to upbraid him for refusing to follow the king in his expedition to Amiens; and that the surprise of this town by the Spaniards had not been followed, on the part of the Calvinists, by a translation of the Protestant assembly of Vendôme to Châtellerault, where the proceedings were so violent, that the king was obliged to send thither M. de Schomberg, de Thou, de Vic, de Calignon, and De Montglat, who were charged with full powers to offer such conditions as sufficiently show that Henry IV. thought he had everything to fear from them. (Consult the Memoirs of the Duke of Bouillon; his History by Marsolier; the History of the Edict of Nantes; the Life of Du Plessis-Mornay; the verbal process of the assemblies of Vendôme and Châtellerault, &c.; but especially D'Aubigné, vol. iii. lib. iv. chap. 11, where he relates, at very full length, all the schemes and cabals of the Calvinist party, and the new turn which they endeavoured to give their affairs.

the king, this proposal was objected to by many persons in the assembly, as well as in some of the great towns, which they had endeavoured to draw over to their party. His majesty was a little comforted by this circumstance, but he had reason to apprehend that the most violent party would carry it at last. He commanded me to write to some of the principal amongst them, to prevail upon them, if possible, to resume more reasonable sentiments, and particularly the Duke de la Trémouille, whom he knew to be the chief promoter of the conspiracy.

Hitherto I had preserved some degree of intimacy with La Trémouille, insomuch that he thought himself obliged to require my presence in these assemblies, but concealed the occasion of them, and in his letter to me made use of such ambiguous terms, that it was not difficult to judge that I was considered by these gentlemen as a man unfaithful to his own party, and that La Trémouille was not far from engaging in an open rebellion. This did not hinder me, however, from taking advantage of the remaining correspondence there was between us, to endeavour to bring him back to his duty. I wrote to him, in answer, that although it were true the king, in respect to him, was such as he imagined, yet there was neither honour nor greatness in extorting from him a declaration, which was the effect only of necessity; but that, in reality, this prince had the same sentiments as formerly for the Protestants; that he was not the cause of that injustice they suffered from the Catholics, since he had equal reason to complain of them himself; that besides, he should observe that the consequence of this edict, obtained so unseasonably, would not be so advantageous for them as they imagined, since the Catholics, always more powerful than they, were able to prevent it for the present; and for the future, the king, justly offended at their violent proceedings, would lose all inclination to grant them one day, voluntarily, what in so unfavourable a conjuncture they wanted to anticipate by force; and all the effect which an unsuccessful attempt would produce, would be to create a distrust of them in the Catholic party, and put them upon their guard against them. I reminded La Trémouille of the examples of those illustrious Protestants, who on all occasions, both by their words and conduct, showed that a Protestant who acts conformably

to his faith has the good of the state and the true interests of his king always in view. La Trémouille was so little moved with my letter that he showed it to every one, and made a public jest of it; but these designs not being supported by a sufficient number of partisans, they fell to the ground.

The post of master-general of the ordnance became vacant at my fourth visit to the camp. Saint-Luc* looking between two gabions, where, in appearance, there was scarcely room enough for a cannon-ball to enter, was unfortunately shot dead by one. The king was conversing alone with me, when Villeroy and Montigny came to tell him the news, which they would not impart in the presence of any other person, because of the particular designs each had on this post. I came up to the king again when they had left him, and his majesty informed me of Saint-Luc's death, and likewise that Villeroy and Montigny had asked him for this post; the first for his son D'Alincourt, or his nephew Châteauneuf l'Aubépine,† and Montigny for himself. Saint-Luc had genius, readiness of invention, was capable of great industry, and possessed of much personal courage; the only fault he could be charged with was his resigning himself up too much to a lively imagination, which furnishing him with scheme after scheme, he consumed in theory great part of that time which should have been employed in practice. The king, however, thought neither of the candidates capable of filling his place: D'Alincourt wanted fortitude, and, as the king said, was therefore not fit for a post in which the greatest dangers were to be risked; Châteauneuf‡ concealed his want of real genius under an appearance of affectation and grimace; Montigny was, in truth, valiant, and of warm affections, but these qualities were not sufficient to entitle him to so considerable a post, as he was without expedient, order, or economy.

His majesty, by talking to me in this manner, appeared to

* Francis d'Epinay de Saint-Luc: he is called the brave Saint-Luc. (See his eulogy in Brantôme's "Vies des Hommes Illustres" in the article "Saint-Luc," tom. i.)

† Charles de l'Aubépine, Marquis de Chateauneuf; Francis de la Grange, Lord of Montigny.

‡ He was made keeper of the seals in 1630, and resigned them in 1633.

have no other reason for hesitating whether he should bestow this post upon me, but a doubt that the duties of it were incompatible with those of superintendent of the finances. It was not difficult for me to undeceive him, and that instant he promised I should have it; but deferred this proof of his friendship for me till the siege was at an end, my presence being, in his opinion, necessary at Paris, during which time he would leave the place vacant. I did not see the king all the following day, and unfortunately for me, he saw the Marchioness of Monceaux in that interval, who omitted nothing to prevail upon him to change his resolution in favour of the elder D'Estrées, her father. The king resisted the entreaties of this lady, and even her tears, but he was not proof to her threats of throwing herself into a convent, if he refused her this favour. The fear of losing her rekindling all the ardours of his passion, she obtained the post for her father. The next day the king, with some confusion for the weakness he had shown, informed me of what had passed; however, in one circumstance he took care of my interests, by conditioning with Monsieur d'Estrées, who was utterly incapable of exercising this employment himself, that he should exchange it for the first post under the crown which should become vacant, and absolutely resign it (if a more important war should happen to break out) in favour of him whom his majesty should appoint; and he again engaged his word to me that I should be that person.

I was satisfied with this assurance, and returned to Paris, where a few days afterwards I received news from the camp of the death of my youngest brother, governor of Mantes,* whom I had left in good health. Of four brothers his death reduced us to two. The king rejected all the applications that were made to him by several persons for the government of Mantes, and bestowed it without any solicitation upon me. I received this gift by the same letter which his majesty wrote to me on occasion of my brother's death, together with the writings necessary to invest me with all the rights of my brother, who died without children. I

* Solomon de Bethune, Baron de Rosny, and governor of Mantes. This is the third of the four brothers, of whom we have spoken in the beginning of these Memoirs: he was only thirty-six years of age when he died.

sent Baltazar, my secretary, to Amiens, to procure my patent for the government, which, as soon as I had received, I went to Mantes to be acknowledged governor, designing to stay there but four days.

The gentlemen of the council supposing my absence would be much longer, and probably followed by a resignation of my employment in the finances, were full of joy; and one of the first advantages they drew from it was to take certain measures for appropriating to themselves part of those sums destined for the siege of Amiens. They all signed a letter to his majesty, written in the name of the council, in which they represented to him that, having been supplied with everything that was necessary for the siege during five months, his majesty could not be surprised to hear that his funds were quite exhausted, having nothing remaining but some bad arrears and assignments of payment. Henry, who knew not that I was at Mantes, and who, by an effect of his natural vivacity, had not examined the signatures of this letter, was so much the more surprised at it, as I had positively assured him that I was able to furnish him with the usual sums for four months longer, which was as long as the siege was expected to last. He exclaimed in very severe terms against the gentlemen of the council, in the presence of the chief officers of his army; nor for this once was I spared any more than the rest: but after a moment's reflection, casting his eyes upon the names subscribed to this letter, among which he did not see mine, and learning from the courier that I was at Mantes, he condemned himself immediately for his too precipitate anger; and that the reparation he made me might be complete, he read my answer to the letter he wrote mo upon this occasion in the presence of the same persons.

His interest indeed required that he should remove their apprehensions: a siege so extremely laborious had sometimes discouraged both them and their soldiers to such a degree, that an absolute desertion would have been the consequence of his treasure being exhausted, since, upon the least delay of the remittances, the king could not have prevented many from leaving him. All went on well to the end; if the besieged defended themselves with vigour, and made sallies

upon sallies, they were attacked with the same spirit, and were always defeated.

The sap was carried as far as the ramparts, and the besiegers had just taken possession of two casemates, which they rendered useless to the besieged, when the cardinal archduke, with the Count of Mansfield, who served under him in quality of lieutenant-general, thought it time to make an effort to prevent the reduction of the place: they marched towards it with an army consisting of between twelve and thirteen thousand foot, and two or three thousand horse, and passed the river Authie, with an intention to offer the king's forces battle, or at least to throw a considerable supply into Amiens. All that endeavoured to enter were driven back.* The king went himself to reconnoitre the enemy's army: he had a full view of it; and notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, finding them a confused and disorderly multitude, without discipline or conduct, resolved to attack them; but at the first motion he made, the archduke retreated with precipitation:† probably it would not have been impossible to

* Pèrefixe relates this fact very differently. "The archduke," says he, "came and lay before the quarter called Longpré on the 15th of September, at two in the afternoon, when nobody expected him. He might have easily thrown three thousand men into Amiens, so great was the consternation which was spread in the camp. Henry, doubting of the success of that day, exclaimed aloud, 'O Lord' (at the same time leaning upon the pommel of his saddle, with his hat in his hand, and his eyes lifted towards heaven), 'if it is to-day that thou intendest to punish me, as my sins deserve, I offer up my life a sacrifice to thy justice, spare not the guilty; but, O Lord, for thy great mercy's sake, pity this poor kingdom, and chastise not the flock for the errors and faults of the shepherd.' It is impossible to express the effect produced by these words: they spread in an instant through the whole army; and it seemed as if heaven had inspired every one with courage." (Pèrefixe, part ii.) Most part of the historians agree that the Spaniards let slip one of the finest opportunities they ever had of beating the king's army; and this prince said himself afterwards, that some of his chief officers told him all was now lost. (Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 234.)

† The king said of the cardinal archduke, that he came on like a soldier, but went off like a priest. La Curée very earnestly desired of the king that he would be pleased to let him go and discover the posture of the enemy's army, putting his majesty in mind that the Spaniards had entered France four times, and that he had every time attacked them, and was the first who had beaten them. Henry made answer, "M. La Curée, don't be in a hurry;" and at the same time gave him leave. La Curée was much spoken of in this affair for his

have forced the Spaniards to a battle, and to have beaten them without discontinuing the siege: at least Henry was always of this opinion. Nevertheless, he yielded to the advice of the greatest number, who were for allowing the archduke to retreat. After this they applied themselves closely to the siege. The ravelin having been carried away, and the body of the place beginning to be sapped, Amiens surrendered the latter end of September of the year 1597, which had been almost wholly employed in the siege.*

When I look upon the great number of letters which I received from the king during the siege of Amiens, I cannot help being surprised that a prince who had the operations of a great siege upon his hands, and the care of a whole camp, should yet be so attentive to all affairs within his kingdom, and with equal facility and equal diligence acquit himself of such opposite employments. I shall spare the reader the trouble of perusing all these letters, as likewise those which

valour, and the noble retreat he made before this army encamped at Betancourt, four leagues from Amiens. However, he afterwards said upon this occasion, that when three or four hundred men retreat in this manner before a whole army, it is only the fault of that army if they are not cut off. He was an undaunted man: for one day he flung himself into the midst of the enemy, when, by his hand being numbed with holding his pistol, he could not use his sword. There were even women dressed like men, who fought in the French army: four among them were very remarkable, and distinguished themselves in taking prisoners with their own hands, and one especially, who went under the name of Captain Gascon. These particulars are taken from vol. 8929 of the king's MSS. (See also on this head vol. vi. of the Memoirs of the League, in which are given very high commendations of the spirit, alertness, and valour of Henry IV.)

* "On quitting Amiens," says Pèrefixe, "the king led his army to the gates of Arras, where he remained three days in order of battle, and saluted the town with some discharges of cannon; but finding he could not draw the enemy to an engagement, he returned greatly dissatisfied, as he jocularly observed, at the incivility of the Spaniards, who would not advance a step to meet him, and had refused with an ill-grace the honour he intended them." "Marshal Biron," says the same author, "behaved admirably during the siege of Amiens. When the king returned to Paris, and was met by a deputation of the citizens, he said to them, pointing at the same time to the marshal, 'This is Marshal Biron, whom I present with great pleasure both to my friends and my enemies.'" (Ibid. part ii.)—ED.

his majesty did me the honour to write me afterwards. I reckoned above three thousand, exclusive of those which I have neglected to preserve, or have been lost through the carelessness of my secretaries. It would be too tedious to give a particular account of each: some of them I suppress in obedience to his majesty's orders, as they regarded persons whose reputation he had no desire to wound, and whom I have doubtless more reason to avoid offending, as I should do by revealing intrigues of state, or merely affairs of gallantry, which have still continued secret: as for the rest, they turned wholly upon accounts, application of particular sums, payments, pensions, and other things of the same nature, all of which were so dry and unentertaining that they afford new matter for praise of this prince.

With regard to his finances, for example, he was so extremely exact as to make me give him an account once a week of the money received and the uses it had been put to.* He does not fail to remark that, in casting some cannon, they wanted to rob him of a piece. In a remission of six or seven thousand crowns which he was obliged to grant the people upon the land-taxes, he settles himself the gratuity that ought to be repaid to certain parishes which had suffered most. He calculated exactly the number of the offices that were sold, and the money arising from thence. He never forgot any person to whom the state was indebted, or who had done it service, either in the distant provinces or the neighbouring kingdoms, assigning with the utmost discernment a particular fund for all. His great care was, that the fund appointed for the support of the war should not be broken in upon by any other payment, as appears when he mentions a recompense to be given to the Sieur de Vienne, who had brought back the city of Tours to its obedience, or the repayment of four thousand crowns that he had borrowed of Madame de Beaufort.

The number of his letters relating to his military affairs is prodigious. He calculated so justly the sums necessary for making of trenches and other works, together with the

* A hundred crowns could not be expended, says Pèrefixe, but he knew whether they were well or ill laid out.

soldiers' pay, that there was no danger of a mistake in following him. The order he observed in the march of his troops was not regulated with less prudence than that of the convoys of money which came to his camp, that the one might not be retarded, nor the other intercepted.

All this made up but one part of his cares. The letter wherein he speaks of the repairs of Montreuil, Boulogne, and Abbeville; those in which he expatiates upon the method of maintaining regularity in the provinces, obedience in the cities, subordination in the different bodies, on occasion of the chamber of accounts which had failed in the respect they owed him; that in which he says, "I would not mix the expenses of masquerades with those destined for the use of my army;" for Mortier, who had provided dresses for a masque, had caused the money laid out on that occasion to be inserted in a memorial of military expenses; that also which contained his reply to the offer which the city of Paris made him by her mayor and aldermen, to support, at their own expense, twelve hundred men, in consideration of which service he discharged this city from paying the aids a second time, and many others of this kind: all these show that the same hand that was able to draw up a plan of attack, was equally capable of conducting the affairs of the cabinet.

The only thing he neglected was his personal maintenance; to make him think of it, Montglat, the first steward of his household, was forced to inform him, as he tells us in some of his letters, that he could scarcely "make the pot boil any longer." He was not ashamed to confess a thing which affected his domestic enemies only; it was their part to blush that he was destitute of apparel, arms, and horses: however, he afterwards found means to settle a fund for his own subsistence, which could not be confounded with any other; it was the mark of gold arising from the offices which were sold that he destined for this use. Such were the subjects of many of the letters he wrote me this year, from which the reader may judge of those of the following years, the originals of which I keep with the utmost care, but shall only transcribe the most important amongst them. It is remarkable, that although there are a great number of them, and almost all very long, yet there are few that are not written

with his own hand, particularly those which are directly addressed either to the council or to myself.*

I was present at the council which was held after the surrender of Amiens, upon the operations of the rest of the campaign. The following propositions were made: to follow the enemy's army, seize some cities of Artois by surprise, and besiege Dourlens† in form; upon which each one that was present gave his opinion. Mine was, that it could not be expected the cardinal Infant, who had so obstinately refused to fight when he had no other way of succouring Amiens, would suffer himself to be forced to an engagement now, when he was sensible he should have all the king's army to encounter, and had had sufficient time to take measures to avoid it; nor was it more probable that the enterprises upon the cities of Artois would succeed in the neighbourhood of so numerous an army: yet that either of these designs appeared to me more judicious than the project of laying siege to Dourlens, as we might know in fifteen days what was to be expected from the former, and incur no shame by failing in them; whereas, by following the latter, we should infallibly have the regret to find that we had consumed a great deal of time, money, and troops to no purpose. It was resolved that the two first measures should be suddenly attempted without renouncing the siege of Dourlens. The Spaniards kept upon their guard, and the French gained no other advantage by this attempt, than the honour of having endeavoured to finish the war by a single action, which contributed,

* I observed in the preface the reasons that induced me not to transcribe here so many letters. They may be seen at the head of the new collection of Henry the Great's Letters; the originals of some of them are at this day to be seen in the fine museum of the Duke of Sully, with marginal notes written by Maximilian de Bethune's own hand. But the most valuable pieces in this cabinet, besides a considerable number of original letters of Henry III. and other contemporary princes, are papers of state, letters, serious or gay pieces, and other fragments, written by Henry the Great's own hand, and by his chief minister, or only signed or marked in the margin by them. We have already spoken of those that concern the accommodation of the Admiral de Villars, and other governors and towns, especially in Normandy; we shall have occasion in the sequel to mention particularly some others.

† A city of Picardy.

as much as all the rest, to make the King of Spain desirous of peace.

It was quite the reverse with the enterprise on Dourlens, upon which they were obstinately bent. The king sent to me at Paris, whither I had now returned, his last resolutions on this head. I did not scruple to represent to him in still stronger terms the reasons that had hindered me from approving the proposal; that his army, having suffered considerably at the siege of Amiens, was not in a condition to undertake a second, equally laborious, in the month of October, a season when the ground about Dourlens, which is naturally moist and clayey, was made impracticable by the rains, and within sight of an army eager to seize an occasion of being revenged. The king did not take my freedom amiss, though he was not convinced by my reasons. He wrote to me in answer, that the expedition of Dourlens was absolutely necessary for the preservation of Amiens and Abbeville; that by putting Picardy in a state of security he should facilitate the sale of the new offices; and that he would take such measures that the siege should not continue so long as I apprehended.

Accordingly, Dourlens was invested on the 9th of October, 1597, and, on the 13th, the rains had so much spoiled the ground and the roads, that the works could not be brought forward. Villeroy informed me in a letter, that they already repented of their attempt; indeed, the king set out almost immediately after from his quarters at Beauval, and came to Belbat, where he gave orders for raising the siege, at which the soldiers had suffered so much during the short time it had lasted, that they were on the point of disbanding. The king caused them all to be paid, placing them in winter quarters upon the frontier, left his light horse there, retrenched part of the garrisons which the surprising of Amiens had obliged him to throw into the neighbouring places, and set forward for Paris, to spend the winter there, taking his route through Rouen and Monceaux, where he stayed eight days.

From this place the king sent me orders to remove the difficulties which the Chancellor de Chiverny raised in the parliament to erect his country of Armagnac and Lectoure into a presidial, and to assign the money arising from it to the

payment of the costs, awarded by the Parliament, to the Sieur de Fontrailles, Count of Armagnac, in a suit which he had carried on in that court against his majesty. As the princess might have some claims upon this money, by virtue of the cession her brother designed to make her of all his estates in this province, the king desired me to keep the matter secret, and used the same precautions with Fontrailles and the chancellor, the last of whom observed this command very ill; but his indiscretion had no bad consequence, the princess leaving the court of France a short time after. In the same letter, the king ordered me to pay Demeurat, his solicitor at Riom, as likewise La Corbinière, who was employed to furnish provisions for the troops that were left in Picardy. It was in these intervals from business that he extended his attention to the most inconsiderable objects. He made me give the Sieur de Piles, an old and faithful servant, a reward of three thousand crowns, and another, of eight thousand livres, to Gobelin, to whom, at the same time, he repaid sixteen thousand livres, advanced by him for the support of his household. There was no name, even to that of the poor woman who gathered the taxes at Gisors, which was not mentioned somewhere in his letters.

The poverty of the people,* which was indeed excessive, having produced many blanks in the receipts for the taxes, the king suspected that the gentlemen of the council, who were very zealous in representing and exaggerating these deficiencies, would find means, when they had obtained a discharge for the people, to put large sums into their own pockets, by concealing the discharge that had been granted; he ordered me first to get information, whether the people were really as much behindhand in the years 1594 and 1595, as those gentlemen had made him believe; which could easily be done, by examining the accounts of receipts and expenses given in by the general and particular receivers, and by visiting the courts of the same provinces, whither I had already gone; and, secondly, to examine whether this defi-

* Bongars, describing in his letters the desolation which the civil wars had caused in the kingdom, assures us, among other things, that the highways were so overrun with briars and thorns, that it was difficult to discover the tracks. (Epist. 73 ad Camerar.)

ciency of the taxes did not proceed from deception or disobedience in the people.

To conclude, his majesty began to busy himself at Monceaux with another matter of importance, that of drawing up articles, on which he desired to come to an agreement with the Protestants. This work he pressed for some time upon the chancellor and Villeroy: I was likewise ordered to engage in it; but he would have had reason to complain a long time of the little attention which those men paid to his design, if he had not come himself to Paris to put it into execution.

These two last affairs, concerning the financiers and the Protestants, required more leisure than the king, upon his arrival at Paris, was able to afford them. He was obliged to turn his thoughts upon making new preparations for going, the following spring, into Brittany, where the rebels, finding themselves out of sight of their sovereign, continued in disorder and disobedience, with impunity. The Duke of Mercœur, who was at their head, durst not openly, however, favour their revolt: on the contrary, the letters he wrote to the king were filled with seeming tokens of submission; and during the space of two years it had been his whole study to amuse him with feigned proposals, which he knew how to evade fulfilling. The king, on his side, had constantly dissembled with the duke, and hitherto contented himself with favourably receiving the officers of this province, who, weary of Mercœur's delays, addressed themselves directly to his majesty. But at length, the king, thinking it time to go and attack this rebellious subject, even at his own doors,* this design, which was carried on with the utmost secrecy, employed us during the whole winter.

It would have answered no purpose to have undertaken it without a body of twelve hundred foot, and two thousand cavalry, and a train of twelve pieces of artillery, at least; and it was not possible to draw out these troops from the six

* One of the Duke of Mercœur's friends having asked him one day if ever he dreamed of being Duke of Brittany, he made answer, "I know not whether it be a dream, but it has lasted these ten years and upwards." The Duchess of Mercœur's grandmother was Charlotte, heiress of the house of Penthiévre, whose pretended rights to the duchy of Brittany were apparently the foundation of those of the Duke of Mercœur.

thousand foot and twelve hundred horse which his majesty thought necessary for the defence of the frontier of Picardy, and which he had committed to the care of the constable, assisted by the counsels of Messieurs Belliévre, Villeroy, and Sillery. New funds were to be found for the support of all these troops; the taxes could not possibly be increased otherwise than by lessening the costs of the collection, which is, with respect to the king, a real increase. I likewise applied myself to collect the debts that were in arrear, and to recover such as were neglected; to which I joined some new imposts, few in number, and not oppressive.

The king, without these supplies, would have been obliged to listen to proposals for a peace, and could not then have concluded one, but upon terms very advantageous to Spain. Pope Clement the Eighth desired peace with great ardour, and, long before the campaign of Picardy, had sent the Cardinal of Florence,* in quality of legate, to propose it to the king; at the same time, Calatagironne,† Patriarch of Constantinople, went, by his holiness's orders, to Spain, for the same purpose. The negotiations had been unfortunate in the beginning. The king, more irritated than discouraged by the seizure of Amiens, only answered the cardinal haughtily, that he would defer hearing what he had to propose till after he had regained this place. The King of Spain, on the other hand, although it was with regret that he beheld the war renewed, yet founded great hopes upon his success in Flanders, and particularly upon having surprised the city of Amiens, the possession of which might draw along with it that of all the neighbouring country, from the Oise to the Seine.

The expeditions of the campaign being more favourable to the French, drew both sides nearer an accommodation. Philip knew Henry to be a prince with whom it was as difficult to preserve as to gain advantages; and, having besides a foreboding in his own mind that the illness he was seized with would be mortal, the fear of leaving, at his death, the prince his son exposed to such an enemy as the King of France, induced him to listen to the advice of Calatagironne,

* Alexander de Medicis.

† Father Bonaventura de Calatagironne, general of the order of Saint Francis.

who, when he was assured of the king's inclinations, returned to Rome to acquaint the pope with them, and was by his holiness deputed to France, to give the Cardinal of Florence an account of his success, and to act in concert with him.

Accordingly, their eminences renewed their former solicitations with Henry, and often represented to him that the peace, in some measure, depended wholly upon him. The king, who was undeceived in his turn, and no longer influenced by those great and flattering hopes, which, through a reliance upon the promises of his courtiers, he had entertained, saw the return of the two negotiators with pleasure, though he appeared indifferent to their proposals. At length, he told them that he would not be against a peace, provided Spain would give up all she possessed in his dominions. The legates hinted that this might possibly be obtained, and the king replied that, upon this plan, he permitted them to treat, and conclude a peace with the three ministers he had left in Picardy, to whom he referred them; in the meanwhile, that he might not lose the advantage of those preparations he had made for war, nor waste time so precious in mere negotiations, he set out for Brittany.

The king took his route through Angers in the beginning of March, 1597, ordering his army to follow him by short marches: he permitted his council likewise to attend him, but not till it had made the necessary dispositions for supplying his army in Brittany, and the troops, and commissioners for the peace in Picardy, with all things that were needful. As I now had the absolute direction of the council, and met with no opposition whatever, I quickly put matters in such a state, that I thought I might join the king without any bad consequence. I expected to have found him already far advanced in Brittany, and was greatly surprised to hear, as I drew near Angers, that he had not left that city. The Duke of Mercœur must have been infallibly ruined, but for the service he received from Mesdames de Mercœur* and De

* Mary de Luxembourg, daughter to Sebastian de Luxembourg, Duke of Penthiévre and Viscount de Martigues, was wife to Philip Emanuel de Lorraine, Duke de Mercœur.

Martigues* upon this occasion. They began with obtaining, through the interest of the Marchioness de Monceaux, a passport to meet the king at Angers,† where, as soon as they arrived, they entirely gained over the king's mistress to their party. The Duchess de Mercœur offered her only daughter in marriage to whomsoever the king thought proper, hinting to the marchioness that she would not be against marrying this opulent heiress to her son Cæsar.‡ The Marchioness of Monceaux was so agreeably flattered by this alliance, that, considering from that moment the Duke of Mercœur's interests as her own, she solicited for him with the utmost ardour and assiduity: the two ladies likewise employed every art to soften a prince remarkable for his complacency to the sex. Henry suffered himself to be disarmed by their submissions, promises, and tears, and no longer thought of chastising the Duke of Mercœur.

The moment I alighted at Angers I went to pay my respects to the king. This prince, who by the first word I uttered and the turn only of my countenance comprehended all I had in my mind, embracing me closely in his arms and pressing me to his bosom, "My friend," said he to me, "you are welcome; I am truly glad to see you here, for I have had great need of you." "And I, Sire," I replied (incapable of those mean compliances that are dictated by flattery), "I am greatly grieved to find you still here." "It is long," said the king, interrupting me, "since we have learned to understand each other by half a word; I guess already what you would say to me; but if you knew what has passed, and to what forwardness I have already brought affairs, you would alter your opinion." I replied, that those advantages, whatever they were, which he alluded to, he might have obtained, and many far more considerable, if, instead of stopping at

* Mary de Beaucaire, daughter to John, Lord of Peguillon, widow of Sebastian de Luxembourg, and mother to the Duchess of Mercœur.

† They had come thither before the king, but were refused entrance; upon which they withdrew to Pont de Cé, till the king arrived at Angers.

‡ "The espousals were celebrated at Angers, with the same magnificence as if he had been a lawfully-begotten son of France: he was but four years of age, and she but six." (Pèref. part ii.)

Angers, he had presented himself before Nantes at the head of his army. The king endeavoured to excuse himself upon the want of implements proper for the siege of the city. I answered that he would have had no occasion for them, because Nantes would have rendered them unnecessary by a surrender, and, perhaps, have delivered the Duke of Mercœur into his hands.* The first of these things it was highly probable would have happened, and the king acknowledged that he believed so. After this confession I added, "It is true, I do not find the bravery of my sovereign in this instance; but I shall say nothing, because I know what it was that withheld you." With this prince I was not apprehensive my sincerity would have any bad consequences. He confessed all to me, though with some little confusion, alleging as an excuse his compassion for those who were in a state of humiliation, and the fear of disobliging his mistress.

After this, the conversation turned wholly upon news. His majesty informed me that he had just received letters from the Queen of England, "by which," said he, "she informs me that she and the States have despatched ambassadors to me; but whether to take a part in this treaty for peace, or to divert me from it, I know not, though I rather apprehend for the latter purpose." By other letters, from Belliévre and Sillery, he was informed that the legates had offered in the name of Spain to restore all the cities, except Cambray, that had been taken during the war. The king's carrying troops into Brittany, without being under a necessity of leaving Picardy defenceless, had given great surprise to Spain, and satisfaction to the court of London, ever solicitous to humble the pride of that power. I advised Henry not to refuse a peace for the sake of a single city, and to be satisfied with having driven the enemy out of Picardy and Brittany.

This latter province, which had panted for tranquillity a

* All the historians agree that Henry IV. was in a condition to have made the Duke of Mercœur smart for his disobedience: he would never suffer that this duke should send him any person in his name to Vervins; and protested that he would rather endure a continual war, than consent that one of his subjects should thus seem to treat with him like a foreign prince.

long time, was sensible how much it owed to his majesty, whose presence at the head of an army was the only thing which could procure it that happiness. The party of Mercœur became the king's party. The Spaniards were not in a condition to hold out long against their united forces. Blavet* and Douarnenes, where they were cantoned in the greatest numbers, could not fail of yielding soon to the common fate, and a few days were sufficient to clear the province entirely of its foreign enemies; it afterwards assembled its States, in order to prove its gratitude to the king, by granting him a considerable subsidy. His majesty commanded me to continue my route to Brittany, and, while I waited there for his arrival, to pay the troops, and quarter them in barracks in the neighbourhood of Rennes and Vitré, with orders to keep up a strict discipline there; after which I was to go to Rennes, to represent his majesty's person in the States, to hasten their resolutions concerning the sums that were promised, and to use all my authority to facilitate the levying of them. The king having an inclination to stay some days longer at Angers, laid hold of the pretence that something was still wanting in the treaty with the Duke of Mercœur.

I had no reason to be offended with the Duchess of Mercœur for having endeavoured to procure the most favourable conditions she could; yet I so far resented her making the king the dupe of her arts, that, if his majesty had not obliged me to pay her a visit, I would have left Angers without seeing her; although I was related to this lady by the same side by which I had the honour to be allied to the royal family, that is, by the house of Luxembourg.*

The king remonstrated with me, that if the consideration of being related to her, together with the laws of politeness, were not sufficient to induce me to pay her this respect, yet the Duchess of Mercœur deserved it on account of that regard she had for me, which the knowledge of my intentions could not alter. Indeed, I was received by her and Madame

* Blavet is now called Port Louis, and lies in the bishopric of Vannes: Douarnenes is another port and road, in the bishopric of Quimper.

† Jane de Bethune, daughter to Robert, the sixth ancestor of M. de Sully, was married to John de Luxembourg.

de Martigues with the highest distinction and respect. Madame de Mercœur, after some gentle reproaches for having endeavoured to injure her interest and that of her daughter, my little kinswoman, told me that there was nothing she so ardently desired as to be able to put the affairs of the duke her husband into my hands, that I might conclude this treaty with the king in whatever manner I thought fit. I answered the duchess, that while my respect and adherence to her were not inconsistent with the service of the king, which always carried me against any other consideration, she should find nobody more disposed to serve her than myself.

I went to Château-Gonthier that evening, and reached Vitré the next day, where I saw but too plainly of what importance it was to be extremely cautious and circumspect in quartering troops, that nothing might be neglected. Messieurs de Salignac and De Mouy, marshals-de-camp, were of great use to me upon this occasion. Tranquillity was so perfectly established in all this part of the country, that the peasants, who at first had retreated to the woods and fortified themselves there, where they were every moment ready to come to blows, now returned to their houses; and the city of Rennes thought that some acknowledgment was due to me: for this reason, when the States were assembled, a fine apartment was prepared for me during my abode in that city, at the house of Mademoiselle de la Rivière: she was a woman of wit and gallantry, who being always looking out for pleasures for herself, was the fitter for the commission with which she was charged, of engaging me in all the entertainments that are commonly found in opulent and polite cities like Rennes. If the life of a minister were to be at all times like that which I led in this city, and which lasted almost six weeks, it would have in reality all those charms which are so falsely attributed to it. I had no other employment than being present at the assembly of the States, who with all possible gratitude agreed to the service the king required of them, and granted him without opposition eight hundred thousand crowns, of which one hundred thousand was to be paid the first month, as much the second, and afterwards two hundred each month, till the whole was paid. To furnish this sum, a tax of four crowns was laid upon every pipe of wine. The

assembly were desirous of adding six thousand crowns as a present to me, which I refused, without examining whether this was among the number of those occasions when I might have been permitted to accept a present. The king, to whom the merit of my disinterestedness had been highly exaggerated, and who had himself bestowed more praises on my conduct in the assembly than it deserved, was resolved that the expense of a present to me should be his, and instead of six, gave me ten thousand crowns. During six-and-twenty years which I had spent in his majesty's service, I had never received so considerable a gift. On this occasion there was a kind of generous contest between the king and the province of Brittany, which at last obtained that these ten thousand crowns should be added to the eight hundred thousand the assembly had voted his majesty.

The treaty with the Duke of Mercœur being completed, the king sent it to the chamber of accounts at Rennes to be registered.* As some private articles in this treaty were not expressed, the court thought it had a right to refuse registering it, without certain restrictions with respect to these articles. Henry, who knew better than any other prince in the world how far the power of these sovereign courts extended, and who always appeared careful not to make the least encroachment upon it, resented this refusal with becoming spirit; and, together with the despatches which I received from him regularly every day, he sent me an order in writing for the chamber of accounts, in which he observed, that this court could not be ignorant that in all treaties or acts relating merely to war or the king's person, the sovereign of France took counsel of no person, nor demanded his letters to be registered but as a formality, which otherwise was little essential; he reproved them for their rash conduct, and ordered them to repair their disobedience by an absolute submission to his will.

* The Duke de Mercœur came to the king at Angers. In the first interview the English ambassadors had with the king, he told them that he had put off the duke's entry till their arrival (which was on the 17th of March, 1597), as he was sure their presence did vex him: and, "true it is," say they in their letter, "that all the people, when he came in, cried out, 'Here is the tail of the League! Here is the little king of Brittany!'" (See Birch's Negotiations, p. 113.)—ED.

The king did not show less firmness on another occasion which likewise regarded the sovereign courts. These bodies assumed the privilege of furnishing immediately but half the sum which the assembly had taxed them with for their contingent, and endeavoured to take a more convenient and more distant time for the payment of the rest; they made the same difficulties about their share of the necessary contributions for the maintenance of those troops which they had demanded themselves. Henry easily comprehended that they would not have had recourse to this artifice, but to avoid contributing anything as soon as he should quit the province; therefore he sent me word that it was his will they should furnish the whole tax, which was done accordingly. Their murmurs on account of paying the troops ceased as soon as they were convinced that the tranquillity of their province depended upon this regulation, and they were the first after that to approve of my conduct.

The above orders were sent me from Nantes, to which place the king had advanced, after the treaty with the Duke of Mercœur had been agreed upon, to attend to two affairs of importance, namely, the edict for the Protestants, and the reception of the two ambassadors from England and Holland.* His majesty, believing his presence in Picardy was necessary to forward the peace, intended to have left Nantes in a month's time, without taking a journey to Rennes, which he had looked upon as useless; and had already given orders for the march of the five regiments of Navarre, Piedmont, the Isle of France, Boniface, and Bréauté, which he drew out of Brittany, to fortify the frontier of Flanders. The king having informed me of his design with respect to these regiments, I represented to him that the probability of a peace being now changed to an absolute certainty, it was necessary to disband part of his troops, and lessen the number of his garrisons, as being a burden too heavy for the kingdom to support, and that two of those regiments were now sufficient for Picardy; accordingly, the two first only were sent thither, under the conduct of the Marshal de Brissac. I also insisted so much

* This is an error; the king received these ambassadors at Angers, where they had their first interview on the 21st of March, 1597. The court did not remove to Nantes till the beginning of April. (See Birch's Negotiations, pp. 105-141.)—ED.

upon the necessity there was for his majesty to show himself at least in the capital of Brittany, that, altering his intention, he resolved to come and spend some days there before his return to Paris; and for that purpose, to despatch as soon as possible, the two affairs which detained him at Nantes.

It was now become more necessary than ever to regulate that concerning the Protestants; this body assumed such a licentiousness of tongue in France, that the king himself did not escape the rage and malignity of their invectives. The remonstrances his majesty had made to the authors of the plot just mentioned, were so far from bringing them back to their duty, that in appearance, it served only to make them use their utmost efforts to induce the whole Protestant party in their several synods* to adopt the most violent resolutions; Madame de Rohan did not scruple to cabal with many of them, in order to carry by a majority of voices the proposal of taking up arms, and forcing the king to receive such conditions as they should prescribe to him; in which attempt, she was seconded with surprising assiduity by D'Aubigné, remarkable for his satirical turn, and propensity to slander.† It was he who in those assemblies had the boldness to maintain, that they ought no longer to place any confidence in a prince who, together with his religion, had abjured every sentiment of affection, good-will, and gratitude to the Protestants; that nothing but necessity forced him to apply to them and treat them with regard; that when this was over, he would have no longer any care about their consciences, liberties, or lives; that the peace with Spain, which was upon the point of being concluded, would plunge the party into the utmost distress, since the sole motive that induced Henry to consent to it, was to unite himself with that crown and the pope, to sacrifice them to their common hatred; and therefore that nothing remained to be done but to take advantage of the king's perplexity during a toilsome siege,‡ the distress he was in for money, the need he had of their

* At Saumur, Loudun, Vendôme, and Châtellerault: of these we have spoken before, on occasion of the cabals of the Protestant party during the siege of Amiens.

† He is supposed to be the author of the Confessions of Sancy, the Adventures of the Baron de Fœneste, and other lampoons.

‡ The siege of Amiens.

assistance, and the power which the Duke of Mercœur still possessed in Brittany, to obtain by force what Henry would afterwards refuse to grant them.

The better to incite the members of these assemblies to a revolt, the Protestants thought the blackest calumnies were lawful. D'Aubigné was not ashamed to represent Henry as a prince to whom all religions were indifferent, and who was only zealous for that which would secure him a throne.* This was the notion he wished to give of his conversion. According to him, the pretended injuries offered to the Protestants left no room to doubt of the new system of politics that Henry had formed for himself. Those injuries opened to D'Aubigné a vast field for exclamation; the least of them were represented as outrages of the most violent nature, and instances of the deepest treachery; and thus, without any regard to the extreme injustice he was guilty of, he placed to the king's account all those hardships which proceeded solely from the Catholics or the court of Rome. The Duke of Bouillon, leaving others to declaim, supported D'Aubigné by his uncommon dexterity in sowing divisions between the king and all those who came near him, whether Catholics or Protestants, and in creating him sufficient employment, that he might not for a long time be at liberty to turn his arms against him. The taking of Mende by Fosseuse, and the fitting out of the Count d'Auvergne, were the consequence of these counsels.

None of these persons neglected to make their court to the ambassadors from England and Holland as soon as they arrived at Nantes; and they depended so much the more upon drawing them into their schemes, as they were not ignorant that it was particularly recommended to them to prevent a peace with Spain. These ambassadors were, Lord Cecil,† secretary to Queen Elizabeth, and Justin de Nassau,

* "There are three things," said Henry IV., "which the world is very unwilling to believe; and yet, for all that, they are still true and most certain; namely, that the Queen of England died a maid; that the archduke is a great general; and that the King of France is a very good Catholic." (Journal de l'Etoile, p. 23.)

† This was not the secretary himself, whose name was William, but his son Robert. (De Thou, liv. cxx. See, likewise, Chronol. Septennaire for the year 1598, concerning this interview of Henry IV. with the English and Dutch ambassadors.) [With *Sir* Robert (not *Lord*)

admiral of the States; they demanded a private audience of the king, or if that could not be obtained, at least to have no one present but Lomenie and myself. But I was then employed at Rennes.

If the two ambassadors had given credit to the Protestants, all they had to do was to intimidate the king, and force him by menaces to come into their designs; but either this was not in their power, or being convinced of the Protestants' injustice, they thought it beneath them to be influenced by their passions; and therefore took no notice to the king of what they had suggested. They had, indeed, offers to make which were much more likely to prevail with a prince whose inclination for war they were not ignorant of; the English ambassador offered in the name of the queen his mistress six thousand foot and five hundred horse, to be maintained at her expense; and Nassau four thousand foot, and a large train of artillery completely furnished and supplied, besides a particular supply, which they hinted would be very considerable, provided Henry would endeavour to retake Calais and Ardres. In the event of the king appearing inclined to accept these offers, the two ambassadors had orders to conclude a treaty of alliance immediately between France, England, and the Low Countries, against Spain, and to stipulate that neither of these three powers should listen to any proposal either for a truce or treaty with the common enemy, but with the consent of the two others.

Happily the king escaped this dangerous snare, and the consideration of the present state of his kingdom had more weight with him than all others. He thanked the ambassadors with great politeness, and introduced his answer by assuring them that, although he could not accept the offers of their sovereigns, yet he would not depart from that friendship which had so long subsisted between them; and that the peace he was going to conclude with Spain (for he did not conceal the terms he was upon with Philip), should not hinder him from keeping up the same correspondence with them as before, nor from supplying them with money when they had occasion for it, with this only precaution, that these

Cecil, the queen's principal secretary of state, were joined John Herbert, master of requests, and Sir Thomas Wylkes; the latter fell sick and died at Rouen.] (See Camden.)—Ed.

loans should be made under the title of acquittances of debts, to give no pretence for a quarrel with Spain.

He afterwards, with the same sincerity, explained to them all his reasons for putting an end to the war. His kingdom, he told them, was not like England and Holland, secured by nature from the attacks of her enemies, but open on all sides; his castles unfortified and destitute of ammunition; his marine weak, his provinces laid waste, and some of them reduced to mere deserts. He went on to give a more particular description of the abuses which had crept into the government, and there introduced a thousand disorders; all subordination being destroyed by the licentiousness that had been practised with impunity amidst the confusion of civil and foreign wars; his power was weak and unstable, and the royal authority, as well as the most sacred laws of the state, equally disregarded. These evils could only be remedied by a peace; and if that remedy were delayed for ever so short a period, France was every hour approaching to its ruin; the distemper would soon reach the heart, and no human help would then be able to remove it. Henry did not forget to strengthen these arguments by comparing his present situation in all these respects with that of England and Holland, who could engage in a war on which their safety depended consistently at the same time with their repose and their interest; and the king drew this parallel with so much clearness and judgment, and so exact a knowledge of the state of those countries, as to make them feel the truth of what he was saying; so that the two foreigners, having nothing to oppose against such convincing arguments, looked upon each other in amazement. The king gave them to understand, that when he had settled the affairs of his kingdom, he should then with more assurance of success, renew his former designs against the empire, and the house of Austria; but that these two enterprises were not of a nature to be executed at one and the same time. The ambassadors, for form's sake, thought they ought to dissuade his majesty from his resolution, but they did it so feebly, being themselves struck with the force of his arguments, that before the conference was ended the king brought them over entirely to his opinion, and obliged them to confess that the peace he was going to conclude was for the advantage of all Europe. They left France soon

after, and filled their respective countries with the opinion they had themselves conceived of the great wisdom and extraordinary abilities of the King of France.

In effect, what innumerable miseries would this prince have drawn upon his kingdom, if, following the wild emotions of hatred and revenge, rather than the calm dictates of wisdom and prudence, he had at that instant engaged in a war, which though in his power to begin, was not to end! How dreadful the consequence if chance, which arbitrarily disposes of all the events of war, should have favoured the enemies of France! But granting that his arms were victorious, how little preferable to a defeat is that success which a prince must purchase at so dear a rato as by tho alienation of his domains, the anticipating and mortgaging his revenues, the ruin of commerco and agriculture, from whence France derives her chief support, and lastly, by tho utter devastation of his provinces! Such evils cannot bo balanced by the acquisition of now territories, the possession of which keeps the conqueror in perpetual alarms, and, remaining as so many hateful monuments to the enemy of the ambition and injustico of him who gained them, cherishes and keeps alivo thoso seeds of envy, hatred, and distrust, which never fail sooner or later to produce the samo miseries with which tho kingdom was beforo overwhelmed; on this account, I am not afraid to say that, in tho present state of Europe, it is almost equally unhappy for its princes to succeed or miscarry in their enterprises; and that the true way of weakening a powerful neighbour, is not to carry off his spoils, but to leave them to be shared by others.*

* It seems necessary to inform the reader here, that nearly the whole of the above, from p. 61, is the substance of a conversation given in the original Memoirs, which the king held with Sully, who himself delivers no opinion whatever on his master's conduct towards England and the States, with respect to the treaty of Vervins. The king certainly adduces some strong reasons for concluding a peace with Spain: but nothing can excuse his duplicity on this occasion, or the violation of the oath which he had solemnly made in 1596, not to conclude a peace without the consent of his allies. It has been said, by some writers, that Henry concluded the peace with the secret approbation of Elizabeth; but for this there seems not to be even the slightest foundation. The king throughout the whole negotiation appears to have acted towards the queen in a manner wholly unworthy of his

The insolence of the Protestant cabal was totally depressed when they found that the ambassadors, upon whom they had so greatly relied, were entirely brought over to the king's opinion; and not doubting but that a peace would now be soon concluded, they thought only of procuring reasonable conditions. It was happy for them that, at a time when it would have been easy to punish them for their unjustifiable proceedings, they had a prince to deal with whose reason was always stronger than his resentment. Both sides were then very industrious to draw up that famous agreement known by the name of the Edict of Nantes, by which the rights of the two religions were afterwards both clearly explained and solidly established. Schomberg, the President De Thou, Jeannin, and Calignon, were employed to draw it up, of which all I shall say is, that by this edict it was provided that the French Calvinists, who till then had been only privileged by truces, renewed and continued, should have a

great name; in his interviews with the English commissioners, he denied assertions which he knew to be true, and made them promises which he never intended to perform. When they quitted him to return to England, he promised them that he would not ratify within forty days the articles which his minister at Vervins should sign, within which the ambassadors promised to return with their mistress's pleasure to enter upon the treaty, or retire absolutely: yet in the same letter in which he tells his minister this, he adds, "It was on the 24th or 25th of last month (April) that I made them this promise, notwithstanding which, I do not intend to delay *one day* doing my own business, if that delay can prejudice me: for I have but too much reason to believe that this was asked of me, with a view as much to have opportunity and means of traversing and breaking off the peace, as to favour it. In short, I will conduct myself in this point, as I know others would do in my situation, and as shall be of advantage to my service, which I prefer to every other consideration." Considering the many and great services which England had rendered Henry, and without which, perhaps, he would never have succeeded to the throne of France, his conduct was certainly most ungrateful and ungenerous. Elizabeth, however, well knew how to resent it: in one of her letters to him after the peace of Vervins, she tells him, "That if in temporal concerns, there be such a crime as sin against the Holy Ghost, it is doubtless ingratitude: that if he had obtained advantageous conditions from Spain, he owed them to England: that he ought not to abandon his old friend, since a new one was not of equal value: and that the sacredness of treaties and solemn compacts was never used as snares but among bad men." (For further particulars on this subject the reader is referred to Dr. Birch's Negotiations, pp. 105 et seq., where many interesting circumstances

fixed and durable establishment.* All that now remained to be done, was to cause this treaty to be registered and confirmed by the parliaments and sovereign courts, and to begin with those of Paris, which was deferred till the king's return to that city.

Having paid what he owed to the Protestants† according to the exactest justice, the king did not think himself obliged to show much regard to those who still continued to stir sedition, such as the Duke of Bouillon in particular, who had most reason to reproach himself; and for once he resolved to speak to him like a master: he had now acquired a right to do this, even though we suppose him not to have had it in the character of king. He purposed to execute this design as soon as he arrived at Rennes, and took his route thither without delay. The Duke of Bouillon then lodged at the house of L'Alloué, where he was confined to his bed by the gout; the king went to visit him, and after the first compliments, signifying that it was his pleasure to be left alone with the duke, the rest of the company quitted the chamber, and his majesty desired that he would, without interruption, hear what he had to say to him. He began with a particular detail of all his proceedings, to show that he was not

will be found in the letters of the English commissioners respecting their different interviews with the king, and which throw considerable doubt upon much of what is said in the above pages.)—ED.

* The Ediet of Nantes was signed the 13th of April. De Thou says, that the judicial confirmation of it was put off till after the departure of the legate, whom they were loth to send away discontented. The concessions this ediet contains, more favourable than those that had been formerly granted them, are, that they were admitted to places of trust, both in the courts of justice and in the finances: all the rest is no ways essentially different from the ediet of pacification that passed in 1577. Bayle ascribes the honour of composing the Ediet of Nantes to the reformed minister Chamier. (See it in Matthieu, tom. ii. book ii., and in several other historians.) There were likewise some secret articles, of which the most disadvantageous for the Calvinists is that which forbids them the exercise of their religion in a great many towns and particular districts, as Rheims, Soissons, Dijon, Sens, &c., because Henry IV. had so engaged himself by particular treaties before, with the different chiefs of the League.

† Le Grain mentions a good saying of Henry IV. One day as the Protestants were importunately teasing him with their demands, "Apply to my sister," says he to them, "for your affairs are now fallen into the hands of women to conduct them."

ignorant of any of them: he dwelt chiefly upon some steps the duke had taken since the Edict of Nantes, and which were therefore so much the more criminal, as it ought to have prevented him from entertaining a thought of revolting against a prince who had so generously adhered to his interest. The duke attempted to offer something in his defence, but he was stopped by the king, who told him that without any justification he would from that day forget all that had passed; and since he had pardoned whatever the most inveterate malice had been able to suggest to his enemies, he had no inclination to exclude from his favour an old servant with whom he had been pleased for a long time: in conclusion, he advised the duke, with an air of authority, which became him better as he employed it seldom, to make good use of the counsel he was now giving him as his friend, to think no more of his past behaviour, but for the sake of acting in a manner quite contrary; for if he should again fail in his respect to his king and master, he was resolved to make use of that opportunity which the peace now established in the kingdom gave, to bring him to punishment; after which the king, without waiting for his answer, went out, and left him to his own thoughts.

The inhabitants of Brittany were charmed with the affability of their king, and his complaisance in being present at all the entertainments with which the ladies contended to divert him. Henry divided his time between these assemblies, the sport of running at the ring, balls, and tennis-playing, without lessening his assiduity about the Marchioness of Monceaux, who was very far advanced in her pregnancy.

In the midst of these amusements, the king at certain intervals appeared so pensive and reserved, that it was not difficult to guess some secret uneasiness preyed upon his mind; and I was the more convinced of it when his majesty, who often diverted himself with hunting, ordered me twice to follow him apart, that he might have an opportunity of conversing with me alone; yet when I did so he was silent. I then remembered that the same thing had happened at St. Germain and Angers, and I concluded that he had a design in view which he had some difficulty in disclosing to me, knowing with what freedom I sometimes opposed his opi-

nions; but what this design was I could not possibly guess. Returning from the above-mentioned visit to the Duke of Bouillon, his majesty, being at the foot of the staircase, saw me as I entered the court, and calling me, made me go with him into the garden, which was extremely large and beautiful, holding my hand with his fingers between mine as usual, then ordered the door to be shut, and that no person should be allowed to enter.

This prelude made me expect to hear a secret of great consequence. Henry did not enter upon it immediately, but, as if he had not sufficient resolution to explain himself, began by telling me what had just passed between him and the Duke of Bouillon. This conversation was followed by news relating to the negotiations of Vervins, which led him insensibly to reflect on the advantages France would receive from a peaceable government. One circumstance, the king said, gave him great uneasiness, which was, that, not having children by the queen his wife, it would answer no purpose to be at so much trouble to procure peace and tranquillity to his kingdom, since after his death it must necessarily fall into its former calamities, by the disputes that would arise between the Prince of Condé and the other princes of the blood concerning the succession to the crown. His majesty confessed to me that this was his motive for desiring with such ardour to leave sons behind him. Unless his marriage with the princess Margaret could be dissolved, it was not possible for him to be absolutely happy; but the informations he received from the Archbishop of Urbin, Messieurs du Perron, d'Ossat, and De Marquemont, his deputies at Rome, of the pope's favourable dispositions in respect to that affair, gave him great hopes of its success: in effect, Clement the Eighth, who was as good a politician as any prince in Europe, revolving in his mind what means were most likely to hinder France and the other Christian kingdoms from falling again into a state of anarchy and confusion, could find none so effectual as that of securing the succession of the crown of France by authorising Henry to engage in a second marriage, which might produce him male children.

Our conversation being fixed upon this subject, it was easy for me to perceive that it was from hence his majesty's uneasiness proceeded; but I could not so soon know what

particular circumstance it was that disturbed him. The king began to consider with me what princess of Europe he should choose for his wife, in case his marriage with Margaret of Valois should be dissolved; but indeed he set out with a declaration which showed any reflections on this head would be fruitless. "That I may not repent," said he, "of taking so dangerous a step, nor draw upon myself a misfortune which is with justice said to exceed all others, that of having a wife disagreeable in person and mind, it is necessary that in her whom I marry I should find these seven qualities: beauty, prudence, softness, wit, fruitfulness, riches, and a royal birth;" but there was not in all Europe one with whom he appeared entirely satisfied. "I should have no objection to the Infanta of Spain," pursued Henry, "although she is a little advanced in years, provided that with her I could marry the Low Countries, even though I should be obliged to restore to you the earldom of Bethune; neither would I refuse the princess Arabella of England,* if, since it is publicly said the crown of England really belongs to her, she were only declared presumptive heiress of it; but there is no

* The person here styled "the princess Arabella of England," was Lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of Charles, Earl of Lennox, the youngest brother of Henry, Earl of Darnley, and consequently cousin-german to James VI. The reports which the king alludes to, of the crown of England belonging to her, were probably raised by the Catholics and Jesuits, who were continually plotting against Elizabeth, and endeavouring to prevent the succession of James. This lady is said to have been of a mild and unambitious temper, yet from her alliance to the crown, though very remote, she drew upon her the attention of disaffected persons, and to this circumstance is to be attributed the source of many of those miseries which she endured. In 1602, the Jesuits openly declared her the lawful successor of Elizabeth, and attempted unsuccessfully to effect a marriage between her and the Duke of Savoy; and the plot discovered soon after the accession of James, usually called Sir Walter Raleigh's plot, was also said to have been contrived for the purpose of deposing the king and raising her to the throne. She fell under the displeasure of James by marrying, without his consent, Sir William Seymour, son to Lord Beauchamp, from whom the king immediately separated her, confined her to her house at Highgate, and sent Sir William to the Tower; they afterwards attempted to escape together to France, but he only was successful, she being taken and confined in the Tower, where she became insane through grief for the loss of her husband, whom she tenderly loved. She died in 1615.—Ed.

reason to expect that either of these things will happen. I have also heard of some princesses of Germany, whose names I have forgotten; but the women of that country do not suit me: I should always fancy I had a hogshead of wine in bed with me; besides, I have been told that France had once a queen of that country who had like to have ruined it: all these considerations have given me a disgust to the German ladies. The sisters of Prince Maurice have likewise been mentioned to me; but besides that they are Protestants, which would give umbrage to the Court of Rome and the more zealous Catholics, they are daughters of a nun; which, together with a certain reason that I will inform you of some other time, has prevented my entertaining any thoughts of them. The Duke of Florence has a niece who is said to be handsome, but she is descended from one of the most inconsiderable families in Christendom that bear the title of prince, it not being above threescore or fourscore years since her ancestors were only the first citizens in Florence; she is likewise of the same race with the queen-mother Catherine, who did so much mischief to France, and to me in particular.

"These," continued the king, observing that I listened attentively to him, "are all the foreign princesses that I have any knowledge of: of those within my own kingdom, my niece of Guise would please me best,* notwithstanding the malicious reports which have been spread that she loves *poulets* in paper better than in a fricassee; for my part, I not only believe those reports to be false, but should rather choose a wife who is a little fond of gallantry than one who wanted understanding; but I am apprehensive that the violent affection she discovers for her family, particularly for her brothers, would create some disorders in the kingdom."

After this the king named all the other princesses in

* Louisa Margaret of Lorraine: she was a very beautiful princess. It was proposed, at the time of the siege of Paris, for her to marry Henry IV. in order to unite the two parties. The sarcastic lampoons of that time charge her with carrying on an intrigue with the Duke de Bellegarde, master of the horse: and what Henry says here of *poulets*, is taken from a song that was made against Mademoiselle de Guise, which may be seen in L'Etoile, under the year 1596.

France, but to as little purpose: he acknowledged that some were beautiful and genteel, such as the eldest of the Duke of Mayenne's two daughters, although of a brown complexion; the two daughters likewise of the Duke of Aumale, and three of the Duke of Longueville; but all these were either too young, or were not to his taste. He afterwards named Mademoiselle Rohan, the Princess of Conti's daughter, of the house of Lucé; Mademoiselles Luxembourg and Guémené; but the first was a Protestant, and the second not old enough, and the persons of the two others did not please him; and all, for some reason or other, were rejected. The king closed this enumeration by saying, that, although these ladies might be all agreeable enough to him in their persons, yet he saw no way to be assured that they would bring him heirs, or that he could suit himself to their tempers, or be convinced of their prudence, three of the seven conditions without which he had resolved never to marry; since, if he entered into an engagement of that kind, it would be with a design to give his wife a share in the management of all his domestic affairs; and that, as, according to the course of nature, he would die before her, and leave children very young behind him, it would be necessary that she should be able to superintend their education, and govern the kingdom during a minority.

Weary at length of endeavouring, to no purpose, to find out what the king aimed at by this discourse, I said, "But what is it you mean, Sire, by so many affirmatives and negatives; and what am I to conclude from them, but that you are desirous to marry, and yet cannot find a woman upon earth qualified to be your wife? By the manner in which you mentioned the Infanta Clara Eugenia, it should seem that great heiresses are most to your taste; but can you expect that Heaven should raise a Margaret of Flanders, or a Mary of Burgundy, from the dead for you, or at least restore the Queen of England to her youth?" I added, smiling, "that for proof of the other qualities which he demanded, I saw no better expedient than to bring all the beauties of France together, from the age of seventeen to that of twenty-five, that by talking with them in person he might know the turn of their temper and genius, and that for the

rest he should refer himself to experienced matrons, to whom recourse is had on such occasions." Then beginning to talk more seriously, I declared that, "in my opinion, his majesty might contract his expectations, by striking off a great fortune and royal birth, and content himself with a wife who was likely to keep his heart and bring him fine children; but that here again he must content himself with mere probability, there being many beautiful women incapable of childbearing, and many illustrious fathers unhappy in their offspring; but that whatever his children should prove, the blood from which they sprang would secure the respect and obedience of the French nation."

"Well," interrupted the king, "setting aside your advice concerning this assembly of beauties, with which I am mightily diverted, and your sage reflection that great men have often children who possess none of their qualities, I hope to have sons whose actions shall exceed mine. Since you confess that the lady whom I marry ought to be of an agreeable temper, beautiful in her person, and of such a make as to give hopes of her bringing children, reflect a little, whether you do not know a person in whom all these qualities are united." I replied, that I would not take upon me to decide hastily upon a choice wherein so much consideration was requisite, and to which I had not yet sufficiently attended. "And what would you say," returned Henry, "if I should name one, who, I am fully convinced, possesses these three qualities?" "I should say, Sire," replied I, with great simplicity, "that you are much better acquainted with her than I am, and that she must necessarily be a widow, otherwise you can have no certainty with regard to her fruitfulness." "This is all that you would desire," said the king, "but if you cannot guess who she is, I will name her to you." "Name her then," said I, "for I own I have not wit enough to find out who she is." "Ah! how dull are you!" cried the king; "but I am persuaded you could guess who I mean if you would, and only affect this ignorance to oblige me to name her myself; confess, then, that these three qualities meet in my mistress; not," pursued the king (in some confusion at this discovery of his weakness) "that I have any intention to marry her, but I want to

know what you would say, if, not being able to meet with any other whom I could approve of, I should one day take it into my head to make her my wife."

It was not difficult for me to discover, amidst these slight artifices, that his majesty had already thought of it but too much, and was but too well disposed to this unworthy marriage, which everything he had said tended to justify. My astonishment was indeed very great, but I deemed it necessary to conceal my thoughts with the utmost care. I affected to believe that he was jesting, that I might have an opportunity of answering in such a manner as might make the king ashamed of having entertained so extravagant a notion. My dissimulation did not succeed; the king had not made so painful an effort, to stop there. "I command you," said he to me, "to speak freely; you have acquired the right of telling me plain truths; do not apprehend that I shall be offended with you for doing so, provided it be in private; such a liberty indeed, in public, would greatly offend me."

I replied, that I would never be so imprudent as to say anything in private, any more than in public, that might displease him, except on such occasions when his life, or the good of the state was in question. I afterwards represented to him the disgrace so scandalous an alliance would draw upon him in the opinion of the whole world, and the reproaches he would suffer from his own mind upon that account, when the ardour of his passion being abated, he should be able to judge impartially of his own conduct. I showed him that if this was the only means to which he could have recourse to free France from the calamities a doubtful succession would occasion, that he would expose himself to all the inconveniences he was anxious to avoid, and others still greater; that although he should legitimate the children he had by Madame de Liancourt, yet that could not hinder the eldest, who was born in a double adultery, from being, in this respect, inferior to the second, whose birth was attended with but half that disgrace; and both must yield to those whom he might have by her after she was his lawful wife: this by-circumstance making it impossible to settle their claims, could not fail of becoming an inexhaustible source of quarrels and war. "I leave you, Sire," pursued I, "to make reflections upon all this, before I say any more." "That

will not be amiss," returned the king, who was struck with my arguments; "for you have said enough of this matter for the first time." But such was the tyranny of that blind passion to which he was subjected, that in spite of himself he resumed the discourse that very moment, by asking me if, from the disposition I knew the French to be of, especially the nobility, I thought he had any reason to apprehend they would rise in rebellion while he was living, if he should marry his mistress.

This question convinced me that his heart had received an incurable wound: I treated him accordingly, and entered into arguments and expostulations, with which I shall not trouble the reader, since his own imagination may suggest to him all that it was necessary to say upon this subject, which has been already dwelt upon too long. We continued three hours alone in the garden, and I had the consolation to leave the king in a full persuasion of the truth and reasonableness of all I had said to him.

The difficulty lay in breaking those too powerful ties; the king had not yet brought himself to that point: he had many dreadful * conflicts of mind to suffer ere that could be

* In this inward struggle, the voice of reason and decorum had not the strongest sway with Henry IV.; and even though M. de Sully does here and elsewhere say it, the world has always been persuaded, upon very good grounds, that if the death of his mistress, whom he so tenderly loved, had not prevented this prince, he would either have married her, or he would not have married again at all. He was not always directed on this head by the sole advice of the Duke of Sully, at least if we believe a very curious anecdote, which may be seen in vol. 9590 of the MSS. in the King's Library; where it is observed, that Henry IV. being at St. Germain-en-Laye (this was probably but some months at most after his return from Brittany), he sent for his three ministers (M. de Rosny, de Villeroy, and De Sillery) to consult with them about this so important a question, relating to his marriage; and that the first (who, doubtless, was M. de Rosny) was of the same opinion as is mentioned in this part of his Memoirs: that the second advised him, on the contrary, not to marry, but leave the succession to the Prince de Condé, who by birthright was his true heir; and that at last the third (this was M. de Sillery, the most artful courtier of the three), in opposition to both the former advisers, told him, that the best thing he could do was to marry his mistress, and legitimate the eldest of the children he had by her. Henry IV. (continues the author of this anecdote, who plainly shows himself to be a person to whom one of the three ministers themselves had communicated what passed between

effected; and all he could do for the present, was to defer taking his last resolution till he had obtained the permission he had been so long soliciting from the pope, and till then to keep his sentiments secret. He promised me not to acquaint his mistress with what I had said, lest it should draw her resentment upon me. "She loves you," said the king to me, "and esteems you still more; but her mind still entertains some remains of distrust, that you will not approve of my design in favour of her and her children; she often tells me, that when one hears you perpetually talking of my kingdom and my glory, one is apt to think that you prefer the one to my person, and the other to my repose." I answered, that against this charge I could make no defence; that the kingdom and the sovereign were to be looked upon with the same eyes. "Remember, Sire," added I, "that your virtue is the soul which animates this great body, which must by its splendour and prosperity repay you that glory and happiness which it derives from you, and that you are not to seek happiness by any other means." After this we left the garden, and it being night, separated, leaving the courtiers to rack their imaginations in vain to guess the subject of so long a conference.

Neither the king nor I had attended to a circumstance absolutely necessary on such occasions, which was Margaret's consent to the dissolution of her marriage; I conceived it to be highly proper to enter upon this negotiation while we expected the success of that which was carrying on at Rome. I was willing first to sound the intentions of this princess; I therefore wrote her a letter on the subject, the substance of which was, that most ardently desiring a reconciliation between her and the king, upon which France founded her hopes of having a lawful heir to the crown, I thought it my

the king and them)—Henry IV. seemed surprised at this, and afterwards said, "I had promised myself a great deal from your abilities and fidelity, by the advice I wanted of you with regard to my marriage; yet still I fear that, instead of having satisfied me, you have only increased my irresolution by the contrariety of your opinions, which are supported with such strong reasons, that I find myself not a little embarrassed in the judgment which I should make as to the best of them; that I therefore require a little time to consider of it," &c.; and after he had said this, he got up and dismissed them.

duty to entreat she would authorise me to use my utmost endeavours to effect this reconciliation; but that if the inclinations of both parties were such as to render this attempt fruitless, or that it should not conduce to the purpose I mentioned to her (a point I was sensible the sterility of this princess would make her secretly agree to), I hoped she would not be offended if I should afterwards take the liberty to persuade her to make a still greater sacrifice, which the state expected from her. I did not explain myself any further, but after what I had mentioned just before, upon the necessity of giving legitimate children to the crown of France, it was not difficult to guess what I meant by this sacrifice.

The queen took time to deliberate upon a matter of such importance before she sent me an answer, which I did not receive until five months after I had written to her; it was dated from Usson,* where she usually resided, and was such an one as we could have wished for, prudent, modest, and submissive. Margaret, without explaining herself any more than I had done, upon a separation that was not yet publicly talked of, was contented with substituting, instead of it, an assurance that she would readily submit to the king's will; adding the most candid praises of his conduct, and thanks to me for my solicitude and cares.

The king stayed at Rennes but seven or eight days, resolving to set out as soon as possible for Paris, that he might reach Picardy the beginning of May: he took his route through Vitré,† from whence I received orders from him to give a gratuity to the garrison of Rochefort, and afterwards to cause the castle to be razed. From Vitré his majesty coasted along the Loire, and came to Tours, by the way of La Fleche, which he took pleasure in seeing again, it being the place where he had passed part of his time in his youth.

* This princess, many years before, had at first retired to Agen, and afterwards to Carlat. King Henry III., her brother, had not treated her better than Henry IV., her husband, but persecuted her everywhere, and at last shut her up in the castle of Usson, in Auvergne, where, after his death, she was contented to live.

† I have substituted this word in the place of that of Villeroy, as in the original: there never was a place of that name in Brittany; and in fact, Henry IV.'s road lay through Vitré.

I stayed behind him at Rennes five or six days, to put the affairs of the finances in order, pay the troops, settle their departure from Brittany, and their march through the midst of the provinces; after which I came to Tours to the king, his majesty having sent for me upon an affair of great importance. I left him to continue his journey to Paris, where (notwithstanding all the haste he was able to make) he did not arrive till the latter end of May. I was so weary* of the formality of our reception into the great cities, and particularly of the long speeches we were tormented with in every place, that taking a by-road by Le Maine and La Perche, I came alone to my estate at Rosny, where my wife was employed in attending the building of a house, and had narrowly escaped, with all our children, from being crushed to pieces under the ruins of the old edifice, which was first to be demolished. I stayed there but a short time, yet, upon my arrival at Paris, I found the king had gone from thence; he had only passed through it, and taken the road to Amiens immediately: this city he thought convenient for corresponding with the plenipotentiaries of Vervins, and likewise for visiting all the fortresses upon the frontiers, to facilitate the evacuation of those which were to be restored to him by the treaty, and to provide for their future security. All this was but the work of eight days, and his majesty was no sooner come to Paris than the treaty was signed.†

* The king was no less so. L'Etoile relates some very smart repartees of his majesty to these importunate haranguers; one of them tired him with long titles and appellations of honour, and repeating often, "O very benign, O very great, O very merciful, &c., king." "Add, too," says Henry to him, "and very weary." Another having begun his speech with these words, "Agesilaus, King of Lacedæmon, Sire," &c., the king, interrupting him, says, "'Ventre saint-gris!' I have heard a good deal spoken of this Agesilaus, but he had dined; but, for my part, I have not yet." Having twice told another that he should cut short his harangue, and seeing that he nevertheless went on tediously, he left him, telling him, "You must say the rest then to Master William," meaning the fool that belonged to the court.

† On the 2nd of May, 1598, the peace was signed, in the name of the king, "by M. Pomponne de Bellièvre, knight, Lord of Grignon, and councillor of state to the king, and M. Nicholas Brulart, knight, Lord of Sillery, councillor of state to the king, and president in his court of parliament at Paris. In the name of the Cardinal of Austria, having full powers from the King of Spain, by M. John Richardot, knight, chief and president of the privy council of his said majesty,

The treaty was very clear and plain: the resignation of all the towns and fortresses that Spain possessed in France was almost the only considerable article in it. No difficulty arose concerning the affair of the Marquisate of Saluces; the king did not think fit to break off the peace on account of this article, which was looked upon to be of so little importance that if Savoy should refuse to do justice in it, the king, it was said, might, with very little trouble, seize the whole territory without any obstruction from Spain. Both parties, however, obliged themselves to abide by the pope's* decision of the affair. Here the plenipotentiaries committed an error, which was the cause of engaging his majesty soon after in a war that might have been avoided. I shall take no notice of the rest of those formalities in use amongst them,† and leave it to others to extol those refined stratagems which in politics are thought the masterpiece of human wit.

The king signed the treaty at Paris, in the presence of the Duke‡ d'Arscot and the Admiral of Arragon; the archduke

and one of his council of state: M. Jean-Baptiste de Taxis, knight, &c., and M. Louis Verreiken, knight," &c. (See this treaty in the "Mémoires et Negotiations de la Paix traitées à Vervins," tom. ii., with an account, in form of a journal, of all that passed between the plenipotentiaries, from the opening of that negotiation till the conclusion of the peace.)

* What regards the Duke of Savoy, who was represented by M. Gaspard de Genève, Marquis of Lullin, and councillor of state, &c., is at the end of the twenty-fourth article, and imports, "that the remainder of the other differences that are between the said most Christian king and the said duke, shall be referred to the judgment of our holy father, Clement VIII., to be determined by his holiness within one year. . . . . And matters shall continue in the state in which they are at present," &c.

† There were found the same difficulties as to the substance, and the same obstacles as to the formalities, that are usually to be met with in such sort of deliberations. They may be seen in the "Lettres de M. de Belliévre et de Sillery," and in the "Relation," &c., ibid. These two negotiators have been generally commended for the firm and wise conduct which they showed therein. In their letters, and, among others, in those dated the 7th of April and 4th of March, they give a particular detail of the motives that induced them to conclude with the agents for the Duke of Savoy in the manner which M. de Sully complains of: and all this they did by the particular orders of his majesty, in his letter of April 9, &c.

‡ Charles de Croy, Duke d'Arscot, and Prince de Chimay; Don Francisco de Mendoza and Cardona, Admiral of Arragon. Henry IV. took an oath for the observing of the treaty of peace on Sunday, the

did the same at Brussels, in the name of the King of Spain and his own, before Marshal Biron, on whom the king, to qualify him for this ceremony, had just bestowed the rank of duke and peer of France, a dignity that completely turned his head, and contributed in a great degree to ruin him. Messieurs de Belliévre and De Sillery were likewise present. The Duke of Savoy gave his solemn assent to the peace at Chambery, in the presence of Guadagne Bothéon,* governor of Lyons, who was deputed to him by the king for that purpose.

Thus, notwithstanding a League so powerful as that of the pope, the emperor, the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and all the ecclesiastics of Christendom, did the King of France accomplish his designs,† and crown them with a glorious peace. All those who had been employed in effecting it he rewarded with a royal munificence, and, to prevent this measure from alienating Holland from his interests, he sent Buzenval to Amsterdam, to keep up a good intelligence with the States, and to pay the pension his majesty allowed them. It is not possible to reflect on the great abilities of this prince, and his surprising diligence in showing himself in every part of his kingdom where his presence was the least necessary, without bestowing on him those praises he so well deserves.

21st of June, the Cardinal de Florence, the Pope's legate, officiating in the most solemn manner. (The account is also to be met with, ibid. tom. ii. p. 266, of the MSS. in the King's Library, vol. 9361; Memoirs of the League, vol. vi.; Mem. de Nevers, tom. ii.; Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. ii.; Cayet, and others.)

* He is styled, in the oath taken by the Duke of Savoy on the 2nd of August, "the illustrious lord, William de Guadaign, Lord of Bothéon, knight of the orders of the most high and most excellent prince, Henry IV., the most Christian King of France and Navarre, councillor in his council of state, captain of fifty gens d'armes, and his lieutenant-general in the government of the Lyonnais, Forêt, and Beaujolais, ambassador, entrusted and deputed," &c. ("Mem. et Negotiations," &c., tom. ii. p. 365.)

† The letters which this prince wrote to his two ministers at Vervins during the time this negotiation lasted, confirm this. They are inserted in the "Mem. et Negotiations," &c., ibid. He says "that with one stroke of his pen he had performed more exploits than he could have done during a long war with the best swords of his kingdom." It was also said, upon this treaty, that the Spaniards had got the better by arms, but the French by negotiation.

BOOK X.

[1598—1599.]

Part of the army disbanded—Ordinances respecting grain, the wearing of swords, and further regulations in the finances, the police, public works, &c.—Question of the true or false Don Sebastian—Conferences held at Boulogne between Spain and England, but without effect—The Duchess of Beaufort labours with her partisans to be declared queen—The firmness and resolution with which she is opposed by Rosny, who quarrels with her—They are reconciled by Henry—A conversation between the king and his mistress upon that subject—Henry's sickness—Reception of the Legate at St. Germain—Labours of Rosny in the finances—Qualities necessary for a statesman—Rosny gives an account of his wealth—His character, his manner of living, &c.—The deplorable condition to which France was reduced by the wars—Sums expended for the treaties made with the League—Arrêts which were published—Rosny has a dispute with the Duke of Epernon—Labours with Henry to rectify the abuses in the finances—The abilities of this prince for government—Singular events—Exposition, examen, and artifice of the last will of Philip II.—The archduchess comes to Marseilles—Opposition of the clergy of France to the marriage of the Princess Catherine with the Duke of Bar—Cardinal d'Ossat's conduct upon this occasion—A conference held between the Catholics and Protestants for the conversion of this princess, but without success—Henry orders the marriage to be solemnised by the Archbishop of Rouen—Humorous conversations upon this subject—The clergy and parliament oppose the registration of the Edict of Nantes—Alterations made in it—Assembly of the Protestants—Artifices of the Duke of Bouillon on this occasion—The edict registered—The affair of Martha Brossier—Gratuities and employments given by Henry to Rosny—The strange deaths of the constable's wife, and of the Duchess of Beaufort—Henry's grief for the loss of the duchess—Rosny consoles him.

PEACE brought with it other labours and other cares. The king began by reducing the number of his troops, both French and foreigners: the Swiss were disbanded, except three companies of a hundred men each, commanded by the Colonels Galati, Heid, and Baltazar. This reduction was not so complete as I could have wished, and the necessity of

the times seemed to require; but my advice on this head was not approved by his majesty: however, if it had been considered that the royal treasure was almost exhausted, and that there was nevertheless an absolute necessity of furnishing money, for many occasions so urgent that new sums were obliged to be borrowed for that purpose, I am of opinion that I could not have been reproached with a sordid and misplaced economy. These sums were to be applied to the fortifying a great number of towns, and the repairing of many buildings, which, by the late disorders of the times, were threatened with approaching ruin, which it was necessary to prevent without delay. Upon surveying the chief rivers of the kingdom, to settle the different claims (a business which was entrusted to four persons of known probity), it was likewise found necessary to raise several works, particularly upon the Charente.

Amongst other political regulations which were thought necessary, the king set bounds to that prodigious quantity of grain, which it was usual to send out of the kingdom, and which often exposed France to the greatest inconveniences, from a scarcity of her own produce. By another regulation, all who had no right to wear swords* were forbidden, upon pain of the severest punishments, to appear with them.

* As to the regulation of carrying arms, several persons are of opinion that it would be proper to add some distinguishing marks in the form of the clothes that might serve to make known in public the different ranks of people. As to arts and sciences, and the belles lettres, if it be true, and there appears no doubt of it, that it is to the care which has been taken for some years past to cultivate them in Europe that we owe the difference which may at this day be observed among Europeans, with regard to the softness of their manners, the politeness of their behaviour, their connexion with each other, and the means which a more pacific spirit has found out for discussing and terminating in a less cruel manner their respective differences; it appears that, by every kind of public motive, independently of that of the glory and particular interest which result from it, a great state ought never to lose sight of this object. After all the care which has been already taken in this kingdom, in order to form and establish a library, museums, and collections of all kinds, that might be worthy of the powerful monarch who rules it; to institute academies where persons apply themselves to improve the arts and sciences; the world expects with impatience to see the design executed that was formed some time ago, namely, to accommodate all these different parts a little more to

Amidst these occupations polite literature was not excluded from a share of the king's attention. He heard Casaubon mentioned, and upon the reputation of this learned man he invited him to come to Paris with his family, where he settled him, with a pension which afforded him the means of living as became a man of his character, "who is not called," said Henry, "to govern a state."

I am under a necessity of suppressing here a detail of many events of little importance which occurred about this time, the number of which would be infinite, were I to recount in these Memoirs all that his majesty said or wrote to me from Fontainebleau, Monceaux, and St. Germain-en-Laye, where he passed the remainder of this year, and where from time to time he commanded my attendance, to confer with me upon different events which happened. I shall exactly fulfil my former promise, to suppress all that are not in themselves of some consideration, and shall only observe here, that perhaps no minister of state ever found in his prince more attention, or a more fertile genius with respect to all that could promote either the advantage or the mere convenience of a kingdom, than I found in the prince whom I served. Neither peace nor domestic affairs made him neglect to observe what was passing in the other courts of Europe. The question respecting the true or false Don Sebastian* made then a great

one another, in such a large town as Paris, by bringing them all within the same walls, where one might conveniently find all at once, as books, instruments, printing-houses, and, in general, all the necessary implements, together with proper accommodations for lodging the persons appointed, and set over to inspect and take care of them; and especially to see established a tribunal of arts and sciences, consisting of proper persons in the different academies, and paid by his majesty, to make exact trials, and form a precise judgment concerning books, discoveries, and productions that might be useful to the public. At first there was an intention to make the square, or Place Vendôme, serve for this purpose; after this the Old Louvre was pitched upon: but exigencies of state that are still more necessary to be attended to have always deferred the execution of this project. [This was written in 1745.]

* This question seems at present to be pretty well decided by the authority of by far the greatest part of the best historians, who make no doubt but that King Sebastian lost his life in the battle he fought with the Moors at Alcazar in 1578; and consequently that this pretended Don Sebastian was but an impostor, supported both at that time and

noise in Europe, and particularly in Spain; he sent La Trémouille* into Portugal, to endeavour, if possible, to unravel the mystery, that he might not, without full conviction, determine upon the justice or iniquity of the council of Spain, which had begun their measures by causing the supposed King of Portugal to be arrested.

Henry not having yet explained himself concerning those great schemes which he afterwards formed against the house of Austria, he was desirous of acting as a mediator between Spain and England; he therefore proposed a conference to be held at Boulogne† between the two crowns, and sent Caumartin and Jeannin to assist at it in his name. It was in vain that I opposed a measure which seemed to me to be founded in very bad policy; happily, however, this conference produced nothing that had been expected from it. The obstinate hatred these two nations bore to each other gave rise immediately to so warm a dispute about precedency, that they separated before they had even begun to settle the smallest preliminary.

The Jesuits were not more fortunate in their endeavours to take advantage of that article in the treaty of Vervins, by which all French exiles, as well as foreigners, were at liberty to return into France and settle there; the decree of the council which intervened deprived them of this plea, and they were obliged to make use of other means which in the end succeeded better.

The assembly of the clergy which was held this year, and continued part of the following, shared likewise his majesty's attention, as well as the promotion of cardinals. The son of

since by the enemies of Spain. (See the proofs of this king's death in M. de Thou, book lxv., of which we shall say more in the sequel.) France could besides have meddled in this question another way. Catherine de Medicis pretended to have a just title to the crown of Portugal, alleging that she was descended from Robert, son to Alphonsus III., by Maude, his first wife, who died in 1262; since which time she maintained all the kings of Portugal were no other than usurpers: but as these were points very difficult to be decided, it appears that she made but little progress in proving her claims.

* Claude de la Trémouille, Duke de Thouars, who died in 1606.

† This conference, or congress, into which were admitted the States of the United Provinces, was not held till the year 1599, in the months of May and June.

Madame de Sourdis* was one of the Frenchmen for whom the king procured a hat, although he was too young to be thought worthy of that distinction. Madame de Sourdis owed this favour to her address in obtaining the interest and good offices of the Duchess of Beaufort: this was the title the king's mistress now bore, for which she had quitted that of Marchioness of Monceaux, when the birth of a second son drew from his majesty an increase of tenderness and honours. This lady had for a long time set no bounds to her ambition; she aspired to nothing less than being declared Queen of France, and Henry's passion for her, which daily increased, gave her hopes of accomplishing her designs. When she was informed that the king's agents at Rome were commissioned to solicit the dissolution of his marriage with Margaret, and that his majesty was on the point of sending the Duke of Luxembourg† to that court with the title of ambassador to hasten the conclusion of it, she looked upon this as a favourable opportunity; but suspecting the agents, and probably the new ambassador, she cast her eyes upon Sillery, who was already deep in her interest, and whom this last instance of confidence would not fail of binding still closer to her service: she sent for him, and explaining her views to him, set no bounds to the rewards with which she intended to repay his service and devotion. As she knew what was most likely to tempt Sillery, she assured him of the seals at his return from Rome, though at the hazard even of disobliging Madame de Sourdis, her aunt and intimate friend, and promised him likewise the post of chancellor, as soon as it should be vacant. At this price Sillery engaged, with all the oaths she required from him, to neglect nothing that might prevail upon the pope to legitimatise the two children she had by Henry, and to dissolve his marriage with Margaret. This first step taken, few obstacles remained to hinder her advancement to the throne. She easily found reasons to make the king approve of the ambassador she had chosen. The Duke of Luxembourg was only suffered to set out, to be recalled as soon as Sillery should be in a condition to take his place. The

* Francis d'Escoublau, Cardinal de Sourdis, and Archbishop of Bordeaux, who died in 1628.

† Henry de Luxembourg, Duke de Piney, who was the last of that branch of Luxembourg.

duchess was at no pains to conceal from the court the title with which she had just graced her favourite; she assisted herself in preparing his equipages, and prevailed upon the king to give the necessary orders for Sillery to appear with all that pomp and magnificence, which was necessary to secure the success of his negotiation.

The Duchess of Beaufort, at the same time, to prepare the French for that change which she meditated for her children, obtained of the king, who had no less tenderness for them than for the mother, permission that the ceremony of the baptism of the second son she had lately borne him, should be performed at St. Germain, where his majesty then was, with the same magnificence and honours which are peculiar in this ceremony to the children of France. Though I could pardon in this lady an intoxication in which she was kept by the servile respect the courtiers paid to her children, and the adorations they offered to herself, yet I could not grant the same indulgence to Henry, who was so far from taking any measures to undeceive her, that he gave orders for the baptism of this child, with a readiness that showed how agreeable the request was to him. I declared my sentiments on this proceeding with great freedom; I endeavoured publicly to oppose the inference which I perceived the courtiers drew in favour of children so dear to the king for the succession to the crown. The king himself after the ceremony became sensible that he had permitted too much, and told me that they had exceeded his orders, which I had no difficulty to believe. The child was named Alexander,* as the eldest had been named Cæsar, and the court flatterers, by a kind of second baptism, gave him the title of Monsieur, which in France no one is allowed to bear but the king's only brother, or the presumptive heir to the crown.

The mistress did not stop here: she began to assume all the airs of a queen; not, indeed, wholly through her own presumption (for I think she knew herself too well to have dared to indulge such extravagant ideas), but was driven to take this step by the continual solicitations of her creatures and relations; Madame de Sourdis, Chiverny, and Fresne, se-

* He was styled Chevalier of Vendôme. Lady Catherine, sister to the king, and the Count of Soissons, were the sponsors at his baptism. He died grand prior of France in 1629.

conded her so well on their parts, that it became insensibly the public talk of the court, that the king was going to marry his mistress, and that it was for this purpose he was soliciting his divorce at Rome. I was shocked at a report so injurious to the glory of this prince; I went to him and made him sensible of the consequence of it. He appeared to me concerned, and even piqued at it; yet his first care was to justify Madame de Beaufort, who, he positively assured me, had not contributed to the report, though all the proof he had of this was, that she had told him so: he threw the whole blame upon Madame de Sourdis and Fresne, to whom he showed that he was capable of pardoning a conduct so little respectful to him, since, although he was assured they were guilty, he gave them not the slightest reprimand.

One circumstance added great weight to the steps I took on this occasion, both in public and private. Queen Margaret, with whom the affair of the approaching dissolution of her marriage obliged me to keep up a correspondence by letter, knew as well as the others what was said and done at court with regard to Madame de Beaufort's pretensions, and wrote to me that she had not changed her mind with regard to a separation from the king, but that she was so much offended at their intending to give the place she resigned to a woman so infamous as the duchess was by her connexion with the king; that, although she had at first given her consent without annexing any conditions to it, she was now determined to insist upon the exclusion of this woman; and no treatment whatever should oblige her to alter her resolution. I showed this letter to the king, who, judging by it how much his marriage with his mistress would irritate the best of his subjects against him, began in reality to change his sentiments and conduct.

I was of opinion that if Madame de Beaufort were acquainted with the contents of this letter, it might probably produce the same effects upon her. I would not take this trouble upon myself, being unwilling to meet the insolence and rage of a woman, who looked upon me as a stumbling-block in the way of her advancement; but I communicated the letter to Chiverny and Fresne, who immediately informed Madame de Sourdis of it, and she, almost in the same moment, the Duchess of Beaufort. But this lady's counsellors were

not so easily alarmed; they were very sensible that the design they had undertaken to engage the king in could not fail of meeting with many difficulties, and they had taken their measures accordingly; the result of their deliberations had been to hasten as much as possible the conclusion of the affair, persuading themselves that when it was once over, they might give it a colour that should make it excusable; or at worst, matters would be composed after a little murmuring, as always happens when things are without remedy. They well knew the disposition of the French nation, especially the courtiers, whose first law it is to be always of the same mind with the sovereign, and whose strongest passion is the desire of pleasing him. In a word, they thought themselves secure of everything, provided the king himself did not fail them.

Fresne having drawn up the warrant for the payment of the heralds, trumpeters, and other under-officers of the crown, who had attended at the ceremony of the baptism, it was brought to me, as well as the rest, that I might give my order for its discharge. As soon as I cast my eyes upon this writing, a tender concern for the king's honour made me consider it as a lasting testimony of his weakness which was about to be handed down to posterity. I hesitated not a moment to return it, and caused another to be drawn up in terms more proper. The titles of Monsieur, son of France, and all that could give any idea of this kind, were suppressed, and consequently the household fees reduced to the ordinary rate, with which they were highly dissatisfied. They did not fail to renew their efforts; and in their discontent quoted Monsieur de Fresne, and the law by which their claims were regulated. At first I restrained myself before these people, whose bad intentions I well knew; but growing impatient at last, I could not help saying to them with some indignation, "Go, go; I will do nothing in it; know that there are no children of France."

No sooner had these words escaped me, than I suspected that a troublesome affair would be made of it; to prevent which, I went immediately to his majesty, who was walking with the Duke of Epernon in the palace of St. Germain; I showed him the warrant Fresne had drawn up, telling him that if it were allowed, there needed no more but to declare

himself married to the Duchess of Beaufort. "This is Fresne's malice," said the king, after he had read it, "but I shall take care to prevent it." Then, commanding me to tear the paper, and turning to three or four lords of the court who were nearest him, "How malignant are these people," said he aloud, "and what difficulties do they throw in the way of those who serve me with fidelity! They brought a warrant to Monsieur de Rosny with a design to make him offend me if he passed it, or my mistress if he refused it." In the state affairs then were, these words were far from being indifferent; they gave the courtiers, who had smiled at my simplicity, to understand that they might possibly be deceived themselves, and that the supposed marriage was not so near as they had imagined. The king continuing to converse with me apart, told me that he did not doubt but that Madame de Beaufort was greatly enraged against me, and advised me to go to her, and endeavour by solid reasons to give her satisfaction. "If they will not do," added he, "I will speak to her as her master."

I went directly to the duchess's apartment, which was in the cloister of St. Germain. I knew not what notion she conceived of a visit which she found I began with a sort of explanation; she did not allow me time to go on; the rage with which she was animated not permitting her to choose her expressions, she interrupted me with a reproach that I had imposed upon the king, and made him believe that black was white. "Ho! ho! madame," said I, interrupting her in my turn, but with great calmness, "since you think fit to talk in this manner, I shall take my leave, but I shall not, however, neglect to do my duty." Saying this, I left her, not being willing to hear more, lest I should be tempted to say something more severe. I put the king in a very ill humour with his mistress, when I repeated to him what she had said. "Come along with me," said he, with an emotion that pleased me greatly, "and I will let you see that women do not wholly possess me." His coach not being ready soon enough for his impatience, his majesty got into mine; and as we drove to the duchess's lodgings, he assured me that he would never have cause to reproach himself that, through his complaisance for a woman, he had banished or even disgusted servants who, like me, were only solicitous for his glory and interest.

Madame de Beaufort, upon my leaving her apartment so hastily, had expected to see the king soon after, and during that time had taken sufficient pains to set off her person to the greatest advantage; believing, like me, that the victory which one or other of us must now gain, would be the presage of her good or bad fortune. As soon as she was informed of the king's arrival, she came as far as the door of the first hall to receive him. Henry, without saluting her, or expressing any part of his usual tenderness, said, "Let us go, madame, to your chamber, and suffer no one to enter but yourself, Rosny, and I; for I want to talk to you both, and make you live with each other upon friendly terms." Then, ordering the door to be shut, and that no one should be suffered to remain in the chamber, wardrobe, or closet, he took her hand, holding one of mine at the same time, and with an air which she had good reason to be surprised at, told her, that the true motive which had determined him to attach himself to her was the gentleness he had observed in her disposition, but that her conduct for some time past had convinced him that what he had believed to be real was only dissembled, and that she had deceived him; he reproached her with the bad counsels she had listened to, and the very considerable faults they had occasioned. He covered me with praises, to show the duchess by the difference of our proceedings, that I only was truly attached to his person; he commanded her to get so far the better of her aversion for me, as to be able to regulate her conduct by my advice, since she might depend upon it, his passion for her should never induce him to deprive me of his confidence.

Madame de Beaufort began her answer by sighs and tears; she assumed a tender and submissive air; she would have kissed the hand of Henry, and omitted no artifice which she thought capable of melting his heart. It was not till she had played off all these little arts that she began to speak, which she did by complaining, that instead of those returns she might have expected from a prince to whom she had given her heart, she saw herself sacrificed to one of his valets; she repeated all that I had said or done to the prejudice of her children, in order to awaken his majesty's resentment against me: then, feigning to sink under the violence of her grief and despair, she threw herself upon a couch, where she pro-

tested she was determined to wait for death, not being able to endure life after so cruel an affront. This was almost too much for Henry; he was sensibly touched by so artful a discourse, which he had not expected, and which he was not prepared to answer; but resuming that courage and virtue so natural to him, he told the duchess, in the same tone, that she might spare herself the trouble of having recourse to so many artifices on so slight an occasion. On this reproach, she redoubled her tears, exclaimed that she plainly perceived she was abandoned, and that doubtless it was to augment her shame and my triumph, that the king had resolved to make me a witness of the most cruel treatment that was ever shown to any woman. This thought, indeed, seemed to plunge her into real despair. "By Heaven! madame," said the king, losing his patience, "this is too much; I know to what all this artifice tends—you want to prevail upon me to banish a servant whose assistance I cannot be without: I declare to you, if I were reduced to the necessity of choosing whether I would lose one or the other, I would rather part with ten mistresses like you, than one such servant as he is." He did not forget the term valet which she had made use of, and was still more offended that she had applied it to a man whose family had the honour of being allied to his own.

After many severe expressions, the king suddenly quitted the duchess, and was going out of her apartment without seeming to be moved at the condition he left her in; probably because he knew her well enough to be assured that all this violence of grief was affectation. As for me, I was so far deceived by it, as to be greatly concerned for her; and was not drawn out of my error till Madame de Beaufort, perceiving the king was about to leave her, so much offended that she had reason to apprehend he would never return again, changed her behaviour in an instant, ran to stop him, and threw herself at his feet, no longer to impose upon his tenderness, but to induce him to forget her misconduct; she began by apologising for this, assumed an air of gentleness and complacency, and vowed she never had, nor ever would have, any will but his. Never was there a more sudden change of scene: I now only saw a woman perfectly agreeable, easy, and complaisant, who behaved to me as if all that had just passed had been but a dream; we were cordially

reconciled to each other, and we all separated very good friends.

The king being at Monceaux about the end of October, had some slight touches of a fever, which ended at last in a violent attack;* it was attributed to the disturbance caused by a prodigious quantity of humours, which were discharged by a purge; and as the fever seemed to have wholly ceased, the king thought himself cured, and wrote to me to that effect, observing, however, that his indisposition had left a faintness and dejection upon him which was not usual with him, but that he would endeavour to disperse it by walking, if he could get strength enough. These symptoms were the forerunner of a distemper which a few days afterwards seized him with such violence that he was soon in great danger, and I had the affliction to find him in this condition on my arrival at Monceaux, with Chatillon and D'Incarville, whom he sent for in the letter I have just mentioned. I thought for a long time that I had only come to see my dear master expire in my arms, for he would not permit me to leave Monceaux during his illness, and often called me to his bedside. In one of these moments, when the obstinacy and continual recurrence of his distemper baffled all the skill of the physicians, and this prince himself thought that his last hour was approaching—"My friend," said he to me, "you have often seen me meet dangers which it was easy for me to have avoided; you know better than any other person how little I fear death; but I will not deny that I am grieved to die before I have raised this kingdom to that splendour I intended for it, or convinced my people, by discharging them of part of their taxes and governing them mildly, that I love them as my own children."

At length Henry's good constitution prevailed, and his distemper was removed all on a sudden;† so that the grief

* The historian Matthieu speaks of this disorder of Henry IV. in the following manner: "While he was very merry with his mistress and Bellegarde, and laughing heartily at some satirical verses, he was suddenly seized with a violent fit of purging and vomiting, which kept him for seven hours together in very great danger, all that time having a constant desire to drink, and still throwing up the water while the glass was at his head." (Tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 277.)

† It was during this malady that Henry IV. was very much troubled

into which his danger had plunged us, was followed immediately by the joy for his recovery. He had afterwards a slight relapse, but it was attended by no bad consequence; he sent me word of this at Paris, whither I had returned as soon as I saw him out of danger; and in another letter, dated the 6th of November, 1598, which Schomberg, at his return from Monceaux, brought me, that his health was perfectly established, except that he had some small remains of that dejection on his spirits of which he had formerly complained, and which he could not get rid of, notwithstanding he followed exactly the advice of his physicians. The sieurs Marescot, Martin, and Rosset, having upon the news of his illness, hastened to Monceaux to assist his physicians in ordinary with their advice, he had the attention to cause them to be paid for their trouble, writing to me to give each of them one hundred crowns, and fifty to Regnault, his surgeon.

The king had not yet quitted Monceaux when the Cardinal of Florence, who had so great a share in the treaty of Vervins, passed through Paris, as he came back from Picardy, to return from thence to Rome, after he should take leave of his majesty. The king sent me to Paris to receive him, commanding me to pay him all imaginable honours. He had need of a person near the pope so powerful as this cardinal, who afterwards obtained the pontificate himself; I therefore omitted nothing that could answer his majesty's intentions; and the legate having an inclination to see St. Germain-en-Laye, I sent orders to Momier, the keeper of the castle, to hang the halls and chambers with the finest tapestry of the crown. Momier executed my orders with great punctuality, but with so little judgment, that for the legate's chamber he chose a suit of hangings wrought by Jeanne, Queen of Navarre; very rich, indeed, but which represented nothing but emblems and mottoes against the pope and the court of Rome, as satirical as they were ingenious. The prelate endeavoured to prevail upon me to

with a fleshy excrescence, which served as a pretext to the Duchess of Beaufort to let him know, by means of La Rivière, his first physician, whom she gained over to her interest, that he could, after this, have no more children. (Amelot de la Houssaye, nom. i. sur la lettre 243 du Cardinal d'Ossat.)

accept of a place in the coach that was to carry him to St. Germain, which I refused, being desirous of getting there before him, that I might see whether everything was in order, with which I was very well pleased: I saw the blunder of the keeper, and reformed it immediately. The legate would not have failed to have looked upon such a mistake as a premeditated design to insult him, and to have represented it as such to the pope. Reflecting afterwards that no difference in religion could authorise such sarcasms, I caused all those mottoes to be effaced.

I had long hoped that a peace would afford me leisure to examine the finances of the kingdom thoroughly; all that I had hitherto been able to do, was only to alleviate the mischief; and far from having been able to dig to the root, so as to eradicate it at once, the different necessities of the state, which always followed each other so close during the war, caused it to be considered as a great stroke of policy to manage the finances without increasing the confusion. It is certain that upon a closer examination, they seemed tainted with an incurable disease, which could not even be inquired into without the most unshaken courage and invincible patience; the first glance was able to discover nothing but a universal loss of credit, the royal treasury indebted several hundred millions, no means of raising more money, excessive poverty, and approaching ruin. But this very state of despair made it necessary not to delay a single moment in undertaking this great work, while several opportunities concurring showed at least a possibility of success. Everything was in tranquillity; the pay of the troops considerably lessened, the greater part of the other military expenses suppressed, the king's council weary at length of making useless endeavours to deprive me of any management of public affairs, almost all business was transacted by me: these gentlemen disdained even to come to the assemblies, unless forced thither by their own interest, or that of their relations or friends. In those assemblies nothing was proposed without my approbation, and nothing executed without my consent; the king had no secret he kept from me, nor any authority that he did not occasionally invest me with; all these considerations persuaded me that, if the calamities caused by so

many long and cruel civil wars were ever to be repaired, now or never was the time to accomplish it.

I had received from nature a strong constitution, a body able to support* long labours, and a mind capable of great

* The picture which M. de Pèrefixe gives us of M. de Rosny altogether agrees with that which we have drawn here. "He had especially," says he, "a genius suited to the management of the finances, and all the other qualifications requisite for such a station: in fact, he was a regular man, exact, and a great economist; he was punctual to his word, no ways prodigal; without any pompous ostentation, nor inclined to profuse expense, game, or women; nor addicted to anything that did not exactly agree with a man bred to such an employment; besides, he was vigilant, laborious, expeditious, bestowing almost his whole time on business, and but little on his pleasures: withal he had the happy dexterity of seeing through such kinds of matters, and of unravelling the puzzling perplexities, and untying the intricate knots, under which the farmers of the finances, when they have a mind to be knavish, endeavour to conceal their tricks." (Part iii.) Matthieu gives him no less high a character. (Tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 278.) "The king gave him," says Le Grain, "the post of superintendent-general of his finances, invested him with so great an authority as had never been seen in that office before, in which, it must be confessed, there wanted a man at that time who would be deaf to every other consideration but the king's advantage—that is, to the public treasure, which it was necessary to restore to its full vigour; and who would be more rigid than what either the dignity of some persons or the respect due to others would have endured at any other time; and indeed this great authority and power which the king gave him did, in a little time after, restore full strength to all the main resources of the state." (See the whole of what this writer says, with regard to M. de Sully, liv. vii.) "Henry put," says d'Aubigné (tom. iii. liv. v. chap. iii.), "the finances into the hands of the Marquis de Rosny, afterwards Duke of Sully, because he found he had a very extensive and indefatigable genius, as also a natural sternness and severity of temper, which, without regarding the favour of any one, enabled him to bear the unpleasing irksomeness of rebuffs; and by that means he filled the king's coffers, to which the natural disposition of his master did not a little contribute." In tom. iii. of the Mem. d'Etat de Villeroy we find the following passage: "This change in the face of affairs, which the said M. de Sully had introduced into France, which had been brought to the lowest ebb of distress, rendering it opulent and flourishing by means of his good management and industry, does sufficiently testify his abilities. The remonstrances which he made even against the king's pleasure, and the opposition he maintained against all the great men, show his virtue, prudence, and courage. Even those who envy him say that he alone was of more use to the public, and knew its interests better than all the rest of the kingdom besides." The manuscript which I quoted in the preface coincides

application, a natural propensity to regularity and economy, improved by a particular study of that science during twenty-five years that I was near the king's person; and, if I may be allowed to say it, a passion yet more forcible for honour and virtue. Such are the qualities I brought to the conduct of public affairs; with these, although one cannot avoid committing faults, and those likewise very considerable, yet one may be assured (and experience as well as the success that attended my labours gives me a right to say so) that the revenues of a state are fallen into good hands when a moderate degree of judgment, much diligence and exactness, and still more, probity, are qualities remarkable in him who governs them. I dare not assume to myself more likeness than this to the portrait I am going to draw of a good minister of the finances, because although I have always proposed such an one for my imitation, yet I candidly confess I am far from pretending to set myself up for a model.

It would be the shortest way to say, that a man who is called to the management of public affairs, ought to have no passions; but that we may not wholly destroy the notion of such a being, by reducing him to an impossible and merely ideal existence, it is sufficient to say that he ought to have such a knowledge of them as to be able to avoid their influence: he should be sensible of all the meanness of pride, the folly of ambition, the weakness of hatred, and the baseness of revenge. As I intend only to make such reflections as immediately relate to him, I shall not take any notice here of the great meanness of treating people ill, not only by actions, but even words, and of never giving orders to inferiors but in the transports of rage, or peevishness of ill-humour, seasoning them with oaths and curses; since, living for the public, he ought to appear affable and be easy of

with this; and further may be added the suffrage of the greatest part of the historians and memoirs of that time, which all agree that M. de Sully has, in strict justice, deserved the appellation of the most laborious, the most capable, the most upright, and especially the most steady minister that ever was. The severity, rigidness, and haughty carriage, which are almost the only faults with which he has been charged, arose from the last-mentioned quality, that no doubt was carried a little too far. We shall have occasion to speak more of it in the sequel: but I thought myself obliged previously to add these testimonies to the account he gives us of his character and conduct.

access to everybody, except to those who only come to him with a design to corrupt him; and never to lose sight of this maxim, which holds one of the first places in the affairs of government—that a kingdom ought to be regulated by general rules, and that exceptions only occasion discontent, and produce complaints.

A just knowledge of what is due to rank, and of different degrees of distinction, is so far from being contrary to this maxim, that it is essentially necessary to it, as well for observing those rules for behaviour to persons of different ranks, which the French politeness has established, as to cure himself of the error that his riches and the favour of his king place every other person in a state of subordinatiom to him. An inclination for the fair sex is a source of weaknesses and injustice which will inevitably carry him beyond the bounds of his duty; a passion for deep play will expose him to temptations a thousand times more difficult to be overcome by a man who has all the money of the kingdom passing through his hands: that he may escape this dangerous snare I am under a necessity of prescribing to him that he must have no acquaintance either with cards or dice.

A dislike of fatigue proceeds generally from the same inclinations which lead to voluptuousness, or create effeminacy. A statesman ought in temperance to seek for a remedy against a fondness for splendour and the delicacies of the table, which serve only to enervate both body and mind. A virtuous man ought to be wholly unacquainted with drunkenness; a diligent man ought to be no less ignorant of what is called high-living. As he ought to make his retirement in his cabinet at all times and at all hours, not merely supportable but pleasing, he cannot be too careful to prevent his mind from running on the delights of balls, masquerades, and other parties of pleasure; in all these trifling amusements there is a nameless enchantment that intoxicates the hearts of philosophers and even misanthropes. The same caution is necessary against hunting, keeping many servants, equipages, furniture, buildings, and all other occasions of expense that luxury has invented. A taste for any of these things soon degenerates into a kind of passion, of which the waste of time is not the only bad consequence; prodigality, ruin, and dishonour are the usual effects of it:

it belongs only to a man who cannot resolve to live and amuse himself with his own company, to think continually of galleries, columns, and gildings, and to run all his life after statues, antiques, and medals. Do you learn to be contented with a common picture; the delicacy of procuring, at a great expense of money and anxiety of mind, original and other scarce pieces, proceeds wholly from an affectation of taste.

I am, however, far from carrying the severity of these maxims so far as to forbid a man invested with a public employment from paying any attention to his own ease, or to deny him all kinds of amusement. I would have him indulge himself in moderate pleasures, and take care of his fortune, provided that he does the one without dissipation, and the other without dishonour. It is one of those advantages which attend a disposition not prone to expense and fond of regularity, that he who is possessed of it, if he lives long, finds himself insensibly in affluent circumstances. To have made a fortune,—a phrase that has so hateful a sound, because, when it is applied to a man of business, it commonly means nothing but injustice, oppression, and cruelty; and when applied to a courtier, nothing but mean artifices, despicable flattery, cringing servility, and even sometimes knavery and treachery,—is nothing more than a natural consequence, and even an act of virtue, where all see that the fortune is only the reward of labour, or an honest recompense of good actions: that I may not be mistaken, I will add that this ought to appear so clearly as to force our greatest enemies to see it and confess it.*

It ought, therefore, to be an established rule that every man who undertakes the management of the finances, or any other part of the ministry, should make, and renew from time to time, a kind of acknowledgment of the state of his

* A great part of the maxims which fill up chap. viii., part 1, of the political testament of the Cardinal de Richelieu, which treats both of the council and councillors of the king, is evidently taken from this and many other places of M. de Sully's Memoirs; and chiefly what he says of the four qualities requisite to constitute a perfect councillor, namely, capacity, fidelity, courage or resolution, and application. I shall have occasion in what follows to make some remarks upon that which seems overstrained in the maxims and manners of M. de Sully, with regard to what is called luxury.

income; that is, upon his entrance into the ministry he should draw up an exact and particular memorial of his present possessions, and upon his leaving it give in another in the same form; so that whatever alterations have happened in his fortune may be known to others as well as himself. I have already taken care to give the public an account of every augmentation of my fortune and each new dignity that was conferred upon me, according to the different periods of time when they happened, and I shall still continue this method: but as I look upon this affair to be subject to calculation, I am going to put every one into a way of doing it himself, and shall show it, completely done, at the end of these Memoirs.

My father's estate being equally divided between me and the other only surviving brother I had, my share of it, joined to my wife's fortune, which was ten thousand livres, amounted only to fifteen or sixteen thousand livres a year; and as it increased but very little during five-and-twenty years, when the king had no means of rewarding his servants, this was my whole income when the revenues of the state were committed to my care. I am sensible that there are many persons who would blush to make such a confession; but for my part, I have already said that in this respect I see only one thing that ought to occasion a blush, which is, the infamy of possessing riches either evilly or doubtfully acquired. I have neither the reproach of extortion, confiscation, or unwarrantable profits to apprehend; all that I added to my first fortune arose merely from the king's bounty to me, so that I owe all to one God and one master.

What I had been able to add to my fortune till the present year, 1598, amounted to the following sums: an appointment of two thousand livres a year as councillor of Navarre; the same sum as councillor of state, with a pension of three thousand six hundred livres, which the king annexed to this post: my salary as member of the council, having been augmented by degrees, and in proportion to the services the king found he received from me, was at this time brought to twenty thousand livres: his majesty doubled my company of gensdarmes, which at first only consisted of fifty men, and after it was incorporated with that of the queen, of which I was made captain-lieutenant, the pay

amounted to five thousand livres: the king made me likewise honorary councillor of the parliament of Paris,* but without any income. It was at this time that Chauvelin the younger had the first dispensation that had been granted from the rule of forty days, paying for it four thousand crowns. I shall make but one article of the government of Mantes, which had been just then given me, and that of Gergeau, which I had afterwards. Such was the state of my fortune at that time; the course of it, till then extremely slow, became very rapid the following years, by the great offices with which his majesty honoured me, and by rewards so considerable, that when I collect them together they will make one of the most important articles. I shall include in it his smallest presents, and even those which I received from other royal persons. Before I enter into the discussion of affairs, and an account of the finances which I have promised, since I have begun to inform the public of my personal character, I will finish the picture by giving a detail of my public employments, and my whole manner of living after I was in a public employment: this is the proper place for it, although, in order to say all upon this head at one time, it is necessary I should suppose myself possessed of all those posts which were not given me till some time after.

Six days in the week a council was held both morning and evening; the first and most important was called the council of state and the finances, which took up the Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, by sitting both in the morning and afternoon; the king was the head of it, and was generally present. The dukes and peers, the officers of the crown, the knights of the king's orders, or those who had a warrant from his majesty, had a seat and a voice in the consultations: here were received and examined all kinds of petitions on whatever occasion, but especially those relating to the pensions of state, which from this time began to be paid with a

* The letters patent by which Henry IV. made the Marquis de Rosny an honorary councillor, and thereby gave him a privilege of sitting in the parliament, &c., are dated March 16, 1602, and may be seen in the registers of the parliament of Paris; as also the enrolment of these letters, and his admittance accordingly on the 19th of March the same year.

punctuality that made them be preferred to every establishment, and even to landed estates. The three other days of the week were likewise taken up morning and evening with different councils, which were called privy councils, composed of a certain number of particular councillors, where examinations were held of things properly referred to each of these councils: if there was any controversy it was despatched to the courts of justice, to whose cognisance it belonged; and care was taken that justice should be done impartially and speedily. I was a member of each of these councils, and commonly presided in them when the king was not present, which often happened, especially in the privy councils. I never failed to be at the council of state, the whole business of which lay upon me: all the letters and petitions that were to be presented there were addressed to me; and as the questions that require general deliberation are not very common, it often happened that in communicating the affair I delivered likewise the resolutions to be taken; and often carried thither arrêts ready drawn up, that everything might be despatched at one sitting; and it happened but very seldom that alterations were made. I have always laid it down as a rule, that the answers which are given for regulating the conduct of persons employed in great affairs cannot be too expeditious or too distinct; all the time that is spent in debate is lost.

It may be easily imagined how much time these employments demanded: I accustomed myself to rise at four o'clock in the morning, both in winter and summer; and the two first hours were taken up in putting in as much order as possible those affairs which were to be each day brought under consideration: a minister who acts otherwise will leave all things in confusion and perpetual disorder by the different perplexities he will find himself involved in at last. At half-past six I was dressed, and ready to attend the council, which began at seven, and generally ended at nine, or, according to the importance of the business that was transacted in it, at ten, and sometimes eleven o'clock. It often happened that his majesty, instead of coming to the council, would send for me at nine or ten o'clock, when it was over, and, either alone or with his two other ministers

of state,* Villeroy and Sillery, walk with us, acquaint us with his intentions, and give each of us orders relating to our particular employments: from thence I went home to dinner.

My table generally consisted of ten covers; and being served with a moderation that was not approved of by the lords of the court, especially the epicures, who make a serious affair of refining upon everything that is eat or drank, I seldom invited any persons to dine with me; so that my table was usually filled only with my wife and children, or at most with some friend who was not more difficult to please than myself. Frequent attempts were made to alter my conduct in this respect, but I always replied to any reproaches of that kind in the words of an ancient, that if the guests were wise there was sufficient for them; if they were not, I could suffer the want of their company without regret.

When dinner was over I went in to my great hall, where it was known that I regularly gave audience, and it was therefore at that hour always full: every one was admitted and had free audience; the reply was no less speedy: herein my particular taste agreed perfectly with his majesty's intention. I began with the ecclesiastics of both religions; the country people, who remained last, were kept but a little time in expectation. I took care to despatch every one's business before I retired, and even sent for those who, by loitering in the court or the garden, had suffered the hour to

* So were those then called who have since been named secretaries of state: and such as were named secretaries of state, as M. Forget, M. Lomenie, M. Beaulieu-Rusé, and M. Potier, were properly no more than four secretaries of the finances, or his majesty's first clerks. Though it appears that none of the three hath been called prime minister of state, yet so unequally was the distribution of the functions of the ministry made between M. de Sully and his two colleagues, and so great a share, and so much authority did Henry IV. give the first in what belonged to their province, that we may say he was, in reality, prime minister, only that he had not the name; this title was not at that time much in use, for the Chancellor Du Prat, under Francis I., the Constable de Montmorency, under Henry II., &c., did not bear it, though they solely possessed the confidence of their masters. M. de Villeroy was at the head of foreign affairs, having also the President Jeannin for his colleague. M. de Sillery and Bellièvre, who became chancellor some little time after, had the management of all domestic affairs.

slip. If the affair proposed to me was equitable, and depended upon myself, I promised in two words the execution of it; if otherwise, I civilly chid the proposer, and honestly forbore to meddle with it: if it appeared doubtful or complicated, I called an intendant or one of my secretaries, to whom I gave the papers that led to an explanation of it. And such was my management, that the matter was totally despatched within a week, if I had promised it; and let the business be ever so much perplexed, the council before whom it was laid always decided it within the month.

As to the other councils, which were held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, I assisted at them likewise as long as I could, before the increase of my employments had likewise increased my business, and even afterwards; but when the direction of the marine, artillery, fortifications, buildings, bridges, and causeways, were entrusted to me alone, to which must be added the affairs of my governments, I was obliged to apply myself to these matters in the place of the other; and to devote the mornings of these three days to the despatch of business relating to these offices, because his majesty thought them of consequence enough, especially that of surveyor-general of the highways and superintendent of the fortifications and works, to be present at the clearing the accounts of each of these bodies of people, which was done in the presence of the governors and other officers, who were all called together on such occasions: notwithstanding this, I did not neglect the other councils, but took care to be present when any important affair was debated, especially when it related to war.

I regulated my time in such a manner that I had still leisure enough for those other affairs, and also for many more which I have not yet mentioned. The extraordinary and unforeseen business I was engaged in, the conversations I had with his majesty, the orders and letters I received from him, may be imagined by a general declaration, that this prince not only informed me of whatever happened to him, but also entrusted me with his most private concerns,* his

* "Never had any minister the confidence of his master more entirely than this had; and never was any more worthy of it, on account of his fidelity, activity, continual application to business, and disinterestedness in everything that related to the king's service," &c. (Hist. de France de Chalons, tom. iii. p. 255.)

secrets, designs, reflections, hidden distempers, pleasures, domestic uneasinesses, fears, hopes, amours, friendships, and disgusts; in a word, all was confided to my fidelity and discretion, terms which I am justly entitled to make use of. In all these moments, in order to comply with the king's desires and occasions, there was an absolute necessity to lay aside the most pressing business, to invent schemes, to go upon private errands, answer letters, and undertake journeys; by all which the affairs of the state would have been injured, if, by giving the night as well as the day to these accidental employments, which were not regulated by months, days, or hours, an extreme diligence in resuming those affairs that had been interrupted by them had not restored everything to its proper state.

One is surprised, in making these reflections, how, with such an exact economy of time, there should remain so little for affairs merely domestic: the few moments I could spare for them I was never able to find but in one of the afternoons of those same three days; and these I snatched by intervals. It was necessary therefore that my wife should accustom herself to do all that I was not absolutely obliged to do; otherwise I must have relied upon people of business, or upon my domestics.

As to amusements, and hours of ease and refreshment, which were necessary to soften the fatigue of such extreme application to business, they were regulated with as much exactness as my most serious affairs; but, like them, subject to frequent interruptions: when, by good fortune, this did not happen, I had no occasion to go out of the arsenal to find them; for it was in this castle that I resided from the time I was made master-general till the death of my king, which gave me up to the tranquillity of a private life. The exercises of the arsenal, which was an excellent school for young people, gave the greatest relief to my mind, especially when I saw my children, my son-in-law, my relations and friends, mingled together: the good company which appeared in the afternoon at the little rendezvous, the exultations which were often heard, the air of gaiety without effeminacy, and of pleasure without negligence, which appeared there, is, of all things which I know, most proper to relieve a mind to which, by long habit of labour, all the

amusements of mere idleness have been made insipid. In whatever manner I spent the afternoon, when the hour of supper arrived I ordered all my doors to be shut, and no person to be suffered to enter unless he came from the king. From this hour till I retired to bed, which I always did at ten o'clock, there was no longer any mention of business; all was ease, mirth, and social joy, among a small number of good and agreeable friends.

The office of prime minister, though at all times laborious, is not always loaded with the same difficulties; and the good fortune of those is to be envied who are called to it at a conjuncture when, the whole stream of affairs having for many years run on in a calm and regular course, they have nothing to do but sit quietly at the helm, content themselves with a general inspection, and leave the rest to be performed by that great number of persons who act under their orders. This advantage I never enjoyed, as may be perceived by what I have had occasion to say at different times; and not to touch yet upon the affairs of the finances, which were at this time an ocean without bottom or shore, I desire the reader just to cast a look upon the different perplexities which must be met with, without examining foreign affairs: a cabal of disaffected people to watch narrowly, and, if possible, to break; a religious dispute to terminate; a powerful party to satisfy, and a general subordination and scheme of government to establish and cause to be observed. Things were in such a state, that of all those officers of war, of police, of the finances, judicature, and the king's household, of pensioners, and those who received salaries from the state, nothing more was known than that their number was infinite, and that there was a necessity for learning their names, and marking them all in a register, in order to suppress part of them.

Military affairs were in the utmost disorder, and the regulations which might be introduced did not depend, as will probably be supposed, on disbanding part of the troops; there was a necessity for surveying all the towns and fortresses, most of which were so near destruction, that on this account, as well as to lessen the number of garrisons that were kept up in France, those which were useless were to be demolished; which, however, could not be done till after

the death of those persons from whom it would have been dangerous to take away the governments of them.

The marine alone might have occupied a minister for a great number of years; for this part of the state, which requires so much application, does not make a very rapid progress; it can be derived only from that quiet and splendour which a kingdom gains by peace and a good government.* It is not to be imagined to what a degree the marine, and the commerce that depended on it, had been neglected in France. I agreed with the king that this establishment should be begun at the foundation; that the sea-coasts should be visited, and the ports examined, in order to take measures for repairing them; that the same ought to be done with those few disabled vessels and galleys which were yet to be found, till new ones could be built; after which officers should be appointed, and sailors and pilots sought for, who might be stimulated to industry by rewards: in a word, to spare a longer detail, that an absolutely new marine should be created.

All this could not be performed but by degrees, and by a little at a time. The finances being that part of the body of the state which was most diseased, required assistance first: the greatness of the evil may be imagined by an inventory of the sums which were drawn from the exchequer to bring over the chiefs and other principal members and cities of the League to the king's party. This statement has something curious enough; it amounted to more than thirty-two millions of livres, and is as follows:†

To the Duke of Lorraine and other persons comprehended in his treaty, three million seven hundred and sixty-six thousand eight hundred and twenty-five livres: to the Duke of Mayenne and others comprehended in his treaty, together with two regiments of Swiss which the king took upon him-

* "A nation must be very powerful," says Cardinal Richelieu after M. de Sully, "to pretend to this inheritance (the possession of the sovereignty at sea), the titles to it being founded more in force than in reason." (Test. Pol., part ii. chap. ix. § 5, 6.) Cardinal d'Ossat, in several of his letters, advises Henry IV. to put his marine on a new footing.

† Here the old Memoirs have an error in the calculation of about one hundred thousand livres.

self to pay, three million five hundred and eighty thousand livres: to the Duke of Guise and others comprehended in his treaty, three hundred and eighty thousand livres; to the Duke of Nemours and others, three hundred and seventy-eight thousand livres: to the Duke of Mercœur, for Blavet and other towns of Brittany, four million two hundred and ninety-five thousand three hundred and fifty livres: to the Duke of Elbœuf, for Poitiers, &c., nine hundred and seventy thousand eight hundred and twenty-four livres: to Messieurs de Villars and the Chevalier d'Oise, for Rouen and Havre, comprehending likewise the indemnifications granted to the Duke of Montpensier, Marshal Biron, the chancellor, &c., three million four hundred and seventy-seven thousand eight hundred livres: to the Duke of Epernon and others, four hundred and ninety-six thousand livres: for the reduction of Marseilles, four hundred and six thousand livres: to the Duke of Brissac, for Paris, &c., one million six hundred and ninety-five thousand four hundred livres: to the Duke of Joyeuse, for Toulouse, &c., one million four hundred and seventy thousand livres: to Monsieur de la Chatre, for Orleans, Bourges, &c., eight hundred and ninety-eight thousand nine hundred livres: to Messieurs de Villeroy and d'Alincourt, for Pontoise, &c., four hundred and seventy-six thousand five hundred and ninety-four livres: to Monsieur de Bois-Dauphin and others, six hundred and seventy-eight thousand eight hundred livres: to Monsieur de Balagny, for Cambray, &c., eight hundred and twenty-eight thousand nine hundred and thirty livres: to Messieurs de Vitry and De Médavy, three hundred and eighty thousand livres: to the Sieurs Vidame d'Amiens, d'Estournelle, Marquis de Trenel Sesseval, Du Pêche, Lamet, &c., and for the cities of Amiens, Abbeville, Peronne, Coucy, Pierrefond, &c., one million two hundred and sixty-one thousand eight hundred and eighty livres: to the Sieurs de Bellan, Quionville, Joffreville, Du Pêche, &c., and for Troyes, Nogent, Vitré, Chaumont, Rocroy, Chateau-Porcien, &c., eight hundred and thirty thousand and forty-eight livres: to Messieurs de Rochefort, and for Vezelay, Macon, Mailly, &c., four hundred and fifty-seven thousand livres: to Messieurs de Cannillac, d'Achon, Lignerac, Monfan, Fumel, &c., and for the city Du Puy, &c., five hundred and forty-seven thousand

livres: to Messieurs de Monpezat and De Montespan, &c., and for different cities of Guienne, three hundred and ninety thousand livres: for Lyons, Vienne, Valence, and other cities of Dauphiny, six hundred and thirty-six thousand eight hundred livres: to the Sieurs Daradon, La Pardieu, Bourcanny, Saint-Offange, for Dinan, &c., one hundred and eighty thousand livres: to the Sieurs de Leviston, Baudoin, and Beauvilliers, one hundred and sixty thousand livres.

I should terrify my readers were I to show them that this sum made up but a small part of that which was demanded from the exchequer, both for the French and foreigners, under the title of pay, pensions, loans, arrears, &c., and that the total of all these sums, after making some deductions, amounted, by the computation I made, to near three hundred and thirty millions of livres; this calculation I would lay down here, but that I think it will appear more properly when all these particulars come to be discussed.

Here was a large field laid open for the labours of a superintendent of the finances; but the difficulty was, where to begin: the exorbitancy of the national debts demanded an increase of the taxes, while the general poverty required a diminution of the old; and everything being well considered, I even found it for the interest of the sovereign that the cries of the public misery should be heard. It is not possible to give a just idea of the dreadful condition to which the provinces were reduced, especially those of Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc, and Guienne, the theatres of long and bloody wars and outrages, by which they were wholly exhausted. I granted throughout the whole kingdom a remission of the remainder of the imposts of 1596, which were yet to pay:* an act that necessity, as well as charity and justice, demanded. This gratuity, which gave the people time to breathe again, was the loss of twenty millions to the king, but it facilitated the payment of the subsidies of 1597, which would otherwise have been morally impossible.

After this relief, I endeavoured to procure the country people as many more favours as I was able. Being strongly

* Together with the arrears of preceding years, for which individuals had given their bonds to the receivers of the taxes; some of which bonds, according to Le Grain (liv. vii.), being seven years behind, were declared null and void.

persuaded that it could not be the sum of thirty millions which was raised every year in a kingdom so rich and of such extent as France, that could reduce it to the condition I now saw it in; and that the sums made up of extortions and false expenses must certainly infinitely exceed those which were brought into his majesty's coffers, I took my pen and resolved to make this immense calculation. I saw, with a horror which gave new force to my zeal, that for these thirty millions that were given to his majesty, there were drawn from the purses of the subjects (I almost blush to declare it) one hundred and fifty millions:* the thing appeared to me so incredible that I could not believe it, till with great industry I convinced myself of the fact. After this, I was no longer ignorant from whence the calamity of the people proceeded, at a time when, although commerce was interrupted, industry stopped or persecuted, arms neglected and without value, and every other kind of wealth diminished in proportion, they had been obliged to furnish a sum so much beyond their abilities, which had been forced from them with the utmost violence.

I then applied my cares to the authors of this oppression, who were the governors and other military officers, as well as the civil magistrates and officers of the revenue; who all, even to the meanest, abused in an enormous degree the authority their employments gave them over the people: and I caused an order of council to be drawn up, by which they were forbidden, under great penalties, to exact without a warrant in form anything from the people, upon what title

* This sum, exorbitant as it is, will not, however, appear exaggerated, if we consider that, besides the ordinary expenses of levying it, which were at that time excessive, the people had still a great number of other impositions and exactions to bear: "For France would become too rich," says Cardinal Richelieu (Test. Pol., part ii. chap. ix. § 7), "and the people be in too flourishing a condition, if the public money, which other states expend with economy, were not squandered with prodigality here. She loses more, in my opinion, than those kingdoms which pretend to rival her lay out in their ordinary disbursements." Upon this he relates a good saying of a Venetian ambassador, viz., that to render France happy, he wished no other than that she knew as well how to expend the money she squandered without reason, as his republic knew never to spend one single farthing without occasion and the greatest economy.

soever, beyond what they were obliged to on account of their share of the *tailles* and other subsidies settled by the king; the treasurers of France being enjoined to give information of all contrary practices, on pain of being answerable for them themselves.

This order was a check to the greediness of all these petty extortioners, but it raised a furious resentment in them against me; and notwithstanding there was something shameful in expressing it, yet many of them made loud complaints of me, as if I had in reality stripped them of their lawful possessions. The Duke of Epernon was the first who explained himself on this head, and ventured to quarrel with me about it; the humiliation he had suffered had not lessened the fierceness and insolence of his temper. The Provençals had often blessed the moment when he quitted their province: no people could be more miserable than his vassals, and those who were too near neighbours to his lands; he raised every year at their expense a revenue of above sixty thousand crowns.

The members of the council, to whom this order gave as much pain as to the Duke of Epernon, informed him of the day when it was to be passed; and he flattered himself he should be able to prevent it. Accordingly he came and took his seat in the council,* and addressing himself to me, made

* The quarrel which is here spoken of happened on Monday, the 26th of October, 1598, at the chancellor's, where the council was held. "The Duke of Epernon having told M. de Rosny that he was not obliged to wait upon him at his house, valuing his quality at a very high rate; the latter made answer, with an air of rhodomontade, that he was descended from one of the oldest families in France. 'Yes, sir,' replied the Duke of Epernon, 'if you will allow that there is some difference between you and me.' Having mentioned his sword, and taken occasion to raise the profession of arms above all others, M. de Rosny returned, that he likewise had a sword, and knew how to use it. To which the Duke of Epernon replied, that he did not doubt that. The chancellor then interposing pacified them: whereupon they began to talk a little more coolly; when M. de Rosny, resuming the discourse, said to him, 'Sir, you have treated me as if I were some petty tax-gatherer.' 'No,' replied the Duke of Epernon; 'you will find that I am not come hither to give you any opprobrious language.' 'I am not a person to be used so,' says M. de Rosny, interrupting him; 'such treatment I would not bear from any man alive.' 'I did not intend any affront,' says the Duke of Epernon. 'I am glad,' returns M. de

a comparison, with great arrogance and contempt, of the manner in which he supported the honour of his name, with that in which I disgraced mine by the new trade I had taken up. To this impertinence I replied without any equivocation, by declaring to him that every way I thought myself at least his equal. This plainness threw D'Epernon into a rage, instead of that insulting calmness he had affected at first; and he proceeded to menaces, which I heard with no more patience than the rest. I answered him with great

Rosny, affecting to take his antagonist's last words as an apology, 'that you did not affront me.' 'I give nobody any affront,' replied the Duke of Epernon; 'and were even that the case, I carry about me what will give satisfaction to persons of my own rank, and to others according to their stations.' It was probably after these last words, which were very provoking, that both of them clapped their hands to the hilts of their swords. The chancellor and the other councillors had often interposed, and at length parted them." The 8055th volume of MSS. in the King's Library, from which I take these particulars almost word for word, relates them, with some other similar circumstances, to show the hasty and proud temper of the Duke of Sully; and at the same time the whole of this account is given us in such a manner as is not at all favourable to him. Le Grain also alludes to this fact in what I am going to quote. But though he agrees that a minister ought, above all things, to have a great regard for moderation, yet he cannot forbear justifying M. de Sully. "How was it possible," says he, "that he should retrench so many pensions and salaries of officers who did no service for them, refuse so great a number of persons that pressingly claimed and demanded rewards, and have a watchful eye over the many councils that were given the grandees of the kingdom, which councils he often turned to the king's advantage, and to their great dissatisfaction, without being invested with a very extensive authority, and showing at the same time a lofty supercilious carriage? The king, too, would have it so, to the end that all might be on an equal footing, till he had discharged his duty towards his kingdom, and enriched it: for which reason subjects ought not to murmur. And inasmuch as the king testified his approbation of all M. de Sully's actions, when his majesty declared to some of the great ones that wanted to quarrel with him, that he himself would be his second; we are not at liberty to canvass such proceedings, nor injure his majesty's memory after his death, nor the Duke of Sully's honour during his life, seeing he did nothing but for the service of his master. God grant," adds this writer, after showing the wisdom and necessity of the king's conduct, and that of his minister, "that this treasure may be preserved with the same care that it has been acquired." (Liv. vii.) I thought this remark necessary to be made, as in the sequel of these Memoirs I shall adduce a great many other examples, like the dispute we have just now seen mentioned.

spirit: he replied in the same manner; and without further explanations, each of us laid his hand on his sword. If the persons who were present had not thrown themselves between us, and forced us to quit the council at opposite doors, a very extraordinary scene would have been enacted in the place where this debate happened. Our quarrel being related to the king, who was then at Fontainebleau, his majesty was so well pleased with the zeal which I showed on this occasion for justice, that he wrote to me that same hour with his own hand, and praising my conduct, offered to be my second against D'Epernon, to whom he said he would speak in such a manner as to prevent him for the future from giving me any more insults of that kind. D'Epernon finding the king was greatly offended with him for this proceeding, asked my pardon in the presence of his majesty, who obliged us to embrace each other.

Besides those revenues which the princes of the blood, with the king's sister at their head, and the officers of the crown, had contrived for themselves, the people were further incommoded by the manner of their collecting the revenues. There was not one of these persons who was not a pensioner of the king, under the title of their employments, rewards, gratuities, or treaties made with his majesty on their returning to their obedience to him; and by an effect of the licentiousness of the past times, it was customary for these officers, instead of addressing themselves to the treasurer of the exchequer for the payment of their pensions, to pay themselves out of the produce of the farms upon which they had assignments; some upon the *tailles*, some on the excise, others upon foreign commodities, the crown lands, five large farms, escheats, tolls of rivers, *comptables de Bordeaux*, patents of Languedoc, Provence, &c. The king had no other means of paying more considerable debts which he had contracted with foreign princes, namely, the Queen of England, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Duke of Florence, the Swiss Cantons, the republic of Venice, and the city of Strasbourg. His majesty paid in the same manner those pensions which policy required he should allow foreign princes and communities; for France has always made herself a voluntary debtor to all Europe; from whence it happened, that all these different creditors set up new farms for

their profit, in the midst of the king's; they had their commissaries and accountants among those of his majesty, and who applied themselves with equal industry to pillage the people. Certainly there never was a more dangerous and at the same time a more shameful abuse, that every one, and particularly foreigners, should be thus suffered to concern themselves with the revenues of the state, and monopolisers of all nations multiply usuries and extortions in the most audacious manner,* and with impunity arrogate to themselves part of the royal authority.

Nothing seemed to me more necessary than to strike at once at the root of this evil by a second declaration, in which all the foreigners and natives, princes of the blood, and other officers, were forbidden, on pretence of any claim, title, or debt whatever, to levy money upon the farms and other revenues of the state; and were enjoined to apply to the exchequer only for the payment of their pensions, arrears, &c. I saw unmoved the storm which such a declaration would not fail of raising against me; in effect, the decree was no sooner published, than every place resounded with the clamours of the lords and chief gatherers of taxes, as if it had reduced them to beggary, when they were only brought back to the conditions of their original agreement, and had their payments transferred to different funds. The king, who had great tenderness in his temper, was moved at these complaints, and could not suppose them to be so unreasonable as they were; he was apprehensive that my zeal had probably led me to commit some imprudence; he therefore sent for me, and as soon as I approached, "Ah! my friend," said he to me, "what have you done?"

It was not difficult for me to convince his majesty that I had acted upon principles of justice and regularity; that it was not fit his finances should have any longer so many masters, nor so many different mortgages; that the farms would produce him an income twice as great, as soon as their value

* This abuse must have been attended with consequences of so ruinous a nature, that we cannot enough bless the memory of him who had the courage to charge himself with the public odium, entirely to extirpate it, instead of accusing him of a haughty behaviour and stern temper, without which it would have been impossible for him to have accomplished it.

should be raised by being in his own hands, and that this profit had not before accrued to the different proprietors, but to their agents and clerks; and lastly, that whenever this was done, it was not depriving them of what was their own, but taking away profits to which they had no right. The king comprehended the justness of this proceeding, but he was perplexed about the discontent he must necessarily give to little Edmonds,* as he called him, agent to the Queen of England; a certain German, factor to the Duke of Wirtemberg; Gondy, farmer to the Duke of Florence; the constable, his godfather; the most distinguished persons in his court; and lastly, his own sister.

I entreated his majesty to send for some of them, to whom I might speak in his presence. The constable was but just gone out of his apartment; he was called back: "Well, godfather," said the king to him, "what complaint have you against Rosny?" "I complain," says he, "that he has put me upon the level with the common people, by taking from me a poor little assignment which I had in Languedoc upon a tax, of which nothing ever came to you." I answered the constable with great civility that I should be the first to acknowledge myself guilty if it had been my design that he should lose anything. I asked him what profit he made of this impost, knowing well that he was one of those persons from whom the contractors exacted the highest price for their services. Monsieur de Montmorency answered my question, and I assured him that he might depend on being paid the whole sum. "'Tis well," said he, "but who will promise me that I shall be paid exactly as I now am?" "I will," replied I, "and will give you his majesty for security, who shall never turn bankrupt, I promise you, at least if he suffers me to manage his revenues as I propose to do; and I will be counter-security to him, because I expect that if I make him rich, he will be so kind to me that I shall never break."

The constable, who was a plain, honest man, was pleased with my answer, and sincerely approved my sentiments; he

* Sir Thomas Edmonds, the English resident in France. (See an account of this gentleman in the Introduction to Birch's Negotiations, p. 11.)—ED.

even confessed to me, that he had let out the impost in question for only nine thousand crowns a year, out of which he was obliged to give two thousand to the treasurer. "All this I know," replied I, "and I am resolved to give you the nine thousand crowns entire; yet the king shall have eighteen thousand, and there will still remain four thousand for me." The constable was amazed; he was not willing to own he had been so greatly imposed upon; while the king in the mean time, laughed heartily. However, the next day, I brought a person to his majesty, who in his presence took this farm at fifty thousand crowns, in the name of the States of Languedoc. The king offered to assign me upon this sum the four thousand crowns, which I had only proposed in jest. I refused them, and told his majesty that the disorder in the finances, which I was endeavouring to remedy, having mostly proceeded from the easy temper of the deceased king, in appropriating his farms to the gratuities he bestowed on those about him, as well financiers as others, they would infallibly fall again into the same inconveniency if it were not made a custom for men of business, who served his majesty usefully, to receive their rewards only from his own hands. The king agreed that I was in the right, and I lost nothing by it, for having procured twelve thousand crowns to be advanced upon this farm, he sent Beringhen with a present of four thousand to me.

I satisfied all those persons who were in the same situation as the constable; and, indeed, what could be more reasonable than that his majesty should himself receive his own revenues? As for all the rest, whose interest made them deaf to arguments so convincing, I gave myself no more trouble about them. By this article the revenues of the crown were increased sixty thousand crowns.

The trouble was slight compared with that which I found in laying open the artifices of the traders: the most likely means I could think of to accomplish it was to procure such a general and exact account of the finances as I have mentioned; but here lay the difficulty: I was not satisfied with that which I drew up, as has been observed, in the year 1596 for 1597; nor even for the year following, although it was much more exact than the others, because I was under a necessity of regulating my calculations according to the re-

ports, and by the accounts of the intendants and treasurers; from all of whom, without exception, notwithstanding the caution I used in choosing them for this purpose, I had reason to expect artifice and fraud. I therefore went to work again this year: I collected all the commissions of *tailles* sent to the several districts, and all the edicts by which money was raised throughout the kingdom; to these I joined the tariffs made in consequence of these edicts, and the leases and under-leases granted by the council to the first and second farmers: I compared all these pieces according to the knowledge which my former work had afforded me in this matter; and at last I thought that I had come for once to the bottom of the business: there were some abuses in the ordinary commissions of the *tailles;* these, however, were the least; there were much greater in the extraordinary commissions granted beforehand for the ensuing year; but the chief enormities appeared to arise from the under-leases: the farmers who took them from the council, and the treasurers of France whom the farmers employed, fingered twice as much as had been assigned them; and as these farmers-general granted under-leases of under-leases, the series of the latter proceeding without end produced a multiplication of charges endless likewise, and affording no other advantage than that of maintaining in profusion those who did nothing to deserve it; first, the gentlemen of the council, then the farmers, and the rest in proportion, who kept the most profound secrecy respecting the mysteries into which they had been initiated.

I was transported with joy at this discovery, and by the authority of the king, to whom I had told it, I stopped the produce of the *tailles* paid upon extraordinary commissions, and, without paying any regard to them, sent word to the receivers that they should account for it as for any other money, and should immediately remit it. I annulled for ever the under-leases, and ordered that for the future every part of the revenue should have only one farmer and one receiver. Great were the clamours on this occasion; but the most discreet amongst the farmers, knowing that these murmurs only served to make them be taken notice of, and finding that by the suppression of a great part of the contractors places were likely to become scarce, they came in

haste to look for me, and took the same farms again upon their own account, with this difference, that their profit went to the king, the value of the farms being doubled.*

In proportion as my work was improved by my experience I brought my general state of the revenues towards perfection; it then came into my mind to go on no longer by such forms of accounts as the receivers had drawn up themselves, but to send them some contrived by myself, in which I endeavoured to have everything clear, and drawn up to the minutest particular. When they were returned to my hands I examined them over again with the utmost accuracy, noting the slightest inadvertence or omission; so that there was soon nothing at all left out, even in the least and most obscure parts of the revenue, because everything was to be verified by the writings which I ordered to be brought along with it, and which I compared with the utmost attention. Thus I blew up all the mines of the receivers, which were very numerous, such as pretended deficiencies, bad money, drawbacks, immunities, privileges of office, payments of rent, charge of carriage, fees to judges, and costs of auditing accounts; all these, and more, were very commodiously used to the advantage of the clerks, because nobody had given himself the trouble to rate according to their real value these different particulars, which being thus swelled out, swallowed up a great part of the sums received; and the gentlemen of the council, who ought to have examined them, knew the advantage of this jargon. So little care was taken of the accounts of the receivers that a man often quitted his employment charged with vast sums of arrears, which afterwards sank into oblivion. I put an end to this custom: I obliged those who

* Though we are more and more convinced of the justice there is in the king taking for his own advantage all possible share in the profits of his farms and other revenues, yet we find, and that with some ground of reason it seems, that since the Duke of Sully's time there has not been made, in this respect, all that progress which his views, and the great care he took, had apparently given hopes to expect. We shall have occasion to enter into this matter at some greater length, when our author comes to speak of the farming of the *tailles* and other imposts, which is the true cause of all the difficulties that are to be met with in attaining to the end he proposed, and which all the ministers after him have endeavoured to reach.

came into office to inquire after the men that had gone before them, and used the only method that could have any effect upon them: as long as any arrears remained they had no other fund for their salaries and allowance. They then knew very well how to hinder these little bankruptcies, instead of favouring them, as they had hitherto done.

Several paymasters, and particularly those of the chamber of accounts, upon whom assignments are most frequently granted, had the ingenuity to contrive ways of tiring out those who brought the assignments by frequent delays, till they were content to take part of the money granted them, and to give an acquittance for the whole. I ordered that no payment should be kept back, and that no money should be taken for prompt payment. This prohibition put an end to all the accounts of the repayment of money payable by the precepts of the chamber, and to the multiplicity both of accounts and charges, by which the king's money was stolen to an incredible amount. From this time we had a clear insight into the finances, and confusion was at an end.

When the general state, of which I have been speaking, with the regulations and different models, were drawn up, I went to read them before the council, in the king's absence. I easily perceived that my colleagues were offended at my diligence, and at my neglecting to desire their assistance in my work. However, they contented themselves with answering me drily and in a jesting manner, that my secretaries had an easy time of it with me: these papers were indeed all written with my own hand.* But as soon as I had left them they acknowledged that my labour had been infinitely great and exact, and that it would be in vain for the future to pretend to hide anything from me. Two days after, when his majesty was present in the council, I read these papers again, upon which he asked them their opinions of my accounts. They allowed them to be very right, and said, that for a soldier, I was extremely expert in business. I know not

* The present Duke of Sully carefully preserves a great part of these manuscripts, with many other originals of M. de Rosny, which he takes pleasure in showing to such as visit him; he looks upon them as one of the principal ornaments of the museum, which his taste for the sciences induces him to augment daily: and these are, in fact, so many glorious monuments of his illustrious family.

whether it was they who were the authors of a piece of slander that was current about this time, namely, that I had employed Du Luat* to write a book, in which, under pretence of giving a new view of the finances, I railed, without charity or reserve, at his majesty's best servants. The king assured me that all the endeavours of my enemies should never alter his friendship for me. Indeed, his majesty from that moment behaved to me in such a manner as to make me look upon him rather as a friend than a master; he interested himself in all my concerns, shared in all my joys, and bore a part of every affliction.

With regard to the finances, I should be doubly ungrateful if I concealed the obligations I am under to this prince: he did not confine himself to the supporting all my proceedings with the utmost resolution (as it happened when the mayor and aldermen of Paris refused to communicate their accounts to me, under pretence that they had no connexion with the council of the finances), nor in anticipating all my desires, or with the greatest goodness consoling me under difficulties, as he generally did, by proposing himself for an example: his knowledge and his advice, especially in relation to the finances, had often been of great use to me; and I candidly confess that without it I should have in vain attempted so difficult an enterprise as a reformation in them: most part of my designs were hinted by him,† and I keep with the greatest care entire memorials, written, although very long, with his own hand, upon subjects which equally employed us both.

After this I ought to own, with the same sincerity, that most of those praises which were bestowed on the administration of affairs in the reign of Henry IV., ought with justice

* Ange-Capel, Lord of Luat. In vol. 8778 of the MSS. in the King's Library a book is mentioned in which he gives many useful hints to the members of the council with regard to the finances; this, no doubt, is the book which our author means here. Du Luat is represented to us in the remarks on chap. ix. of the Confessions of Sancy, as a quick, ready, and agreeable flatterer, who in a manner bewitched the Duke of Sully, his master, with a genealogy in which he derived his pedigree from the house of Courtenay. (Journal du Règne de Henry III., printed in 1720, tom. ii. p. 477.)

† M. de Pèrefixe, p. 225, likewise assures us that Henry IV. had thoroughly studied the subject of the finances.

to revert to him. Others would have served him with equal abilities and as much fidelity as myself; for it never happens that good subjects abandon their king; it is the king who abandons good subjects. The great difficulty will ever be to meet with a prince who does not seek in a minister capable of managing his affairs one who will comply with all his inclinations and gratify all his passions; who, uniting great wisdom to great penetration, calls none to those employments but persons whom he knows to have as much rectitude as capacity; in a word, who, being possessed of great abilities himself, has not the weakness to envy that advantage in another. This jealousy of merit in a sovereign, which supposes, however, that he is himself possessed of it, creates in one sense more disorders in a state than the hatred he is known to have of particular vices can do it good.

When I quitted Brittany I left there regulations for the finances, differing according to the nature and privileges of that province; and afterwards sent thither the Sieur de Maupeon, master of accounts, as well to enforce the observation of them and raise the value of the farms in that province, as to hasten the payment of the money for which I had settled a fund. I likewise sent, for the same purpose, Coesnard, auditor of accounts, to Poitou, and Bizouz to Champagne. I appointed Champigny over the toll of the rivers in the district of Orleans and Touraine. But for this time I have said enough of the finances.

I will now proceed to incidents of another kind, which, by their singularity, rendered this year remarkable. It is yet a question of what nature that illusion might be which was seen so often, and by so many persons, in the Forest of Fontainebleau: it was a spectre,* surrounded with a pack of

* Pèrefixe mentions this apparition, and makes it utter, with a hoarse and frightful voice, these words: "M'attendez-vous," or "M'entendez-vous," or "Amendez-vous." He ascribes these visions to the delusive arts of sorcerers or evil spirits. (Ibid. part iii. See likewise Journal d'Henri IV., and La Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1599, where it is said that the king and his court, who laughed at this apparition as a fable, saw it one day distinctly among the bushes, in the shape of a tall black man, which so frightened them, that the best was he who could show the lightest pair of heels.) P. Matthieu assures us (tom. ii. p. 268) that one day, at Fontainebleau, the Duke of Sully, having heard the noise of it, came down, imagining it was the stamping of

hounds, whose cries were heard, and who were seen at a distance, but vanished when any one approached near to them. A whale was taken on the coast of Holland, eighty feet in length.* The Tiber overflowed in such a manner as to throw down a great number of houses and lay part of the city of Rome under water. A report was spread in Europe that the Jews, through hatred of the Christians, had offered the grand signior five hundred thousand ducats to destroy the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem.

But the most remarkable event, and with which this year was closed, was the death of Philip II., King of Spain, after suffering, for the space of eight or nine months, such agonising† torments, as a principle of piety only could have enabled him to support with that patience he showed for so long a time: however, this heroism of his was quite lost upon the vulgar. When they reflected that through his avarice and ambition he had almost drowned the New World with the blood of its miserable inhabitants, and exercised equal cruelties on his own subjects, short of taking away their lives, they looked upon those infectious ulcers with which his whole body was covered to be not so much a natural accident as the effect of divine vengeance. He left a will behind him, which, in my opinion, is too curious a document

the king's horses after his return from hunting. Bongars (Epist. 184, ad Camerar.) tells us, with an air of gravity, that this was the ghost of a huntsman who had been killed in the forest in the time of Francis I.

* See the description of this monstrous fish in the Chronologic Septennaire, p. 17, and the account of the overflowing of the Tiber in Cardinal d'Ossat's Letters, p. 365. "It was greater," says he, "than any recorded in history; so that the whole plain on which the city of Rome stands was under water a pike's height in the streets and houses; and that not one among a hundred could go to hear mass on Christmas-day. This inundation did incalculable damage," &c.

† "For two-and-twenty days together there was," says Pèrefixe, "a flux of blood from all the passages of his body; and a little before his death imposthumes that broke in his breast, from which there continually issued so great a swarm of vermin, that all the care of his attendants could not destroy them." (Ibid.) M. de Thou (liv. cxx.) adds to this a dysentery, tenesmus, dropsy, &c., and he gives as moving a description of the deplorable condition of this prince as of his patience and religious sentiments under it. Matthieu says that he had no less than seven fistulas on two fingers of his right hand; and he ascribes this terrible disease to the debaucheries of his youth. He died on Sunday, September 13.

to be passed over in silence; it is not certainly known whether he dictated it in his illness, and gave it with his own hand to his son, or whether it was found after his death, with his other private papers, in the box that he had put into the hands of Christopher de Mora, his favourite; but this circumstance, of small importance in itself, is likewise of no consequence towards proving the authenticity of this piece, which is clear, from many others. The copy that fell into my hands was sent me by the same person who sent one to the king; this was Bongars, his majesty's agent to the Protestants in Germany, who had it from the Landgrave of Hesse, and that prince from the cities of Venice and Genoa; and it is in every respect so exactly conformable to those which were sent into different places, that it removes all doubt of its being forged by some of his Catholic majesty's enemies.*

In this will Philip begins with a candid enumeration of all the faults he had committed, and places at their head his chimerical scheme of universal monarchy, the absurdity of which he earnestly endeavours to make his successor sensible of by his example and by that of Charles V., his father, whose instructions he adds to his own, although he confesses he had not profited by them. To this he joins the memoirs which had been left him by that Emperor,† to the end that Philip III. might always keep them together. The Emperor Charles V., being in the flower of his age, and of a healthy

* Notwithstanding what M. de Sully says here, the piece which in his Memoirs is entitled "Testament du Roi d'Espagne" is neither the genuine latter will of that prince, nor even a faithful extract of it: which may easily be discovered by comparing it with the particular and circumstantial one which M. de Thou gives us. (Liv. cxx.) But it might happen that this writing, which was likewise called "Instruction du Roi d'Espagne à son Fils," might really have been a secret, and have nothing more in common with the will and testament of this prince than its being drawn up, as is evident, in the same spirit, and in conformity to the same maxims, without the precaution that is commonly used in writings designed to be made public. As to the substance thereof, it is given us in the "Chronologie Septennaire" in the same manner as in these Memoirs, only in a different style and order.

† M. de Thou finds nothing in the last will of Philip II. comparable to the wisdom of the dispositions and the dignity of expression shown in that of Charles V.

and vigorous constitution, master of Spain and Germany, covered with glory, and elated with success, formed the design of subduing the Infidels, and reuniting all the powers of Europe, as well as all the religions, to his. After many years spent in fruitless attempts, he quitted his crown, and with it all his chimerical projects. Philip II., his son, suffered himself to be taken in the same snare, and succeeded still worse, which he was desirous his successor should know. The difference of religions, laws, and manners among the Europeans; their almost equal knowledge of the art of war, the great number of strong cities with which Europe is filled, and which made as many long and painful sieges necessary; the inconstancy of the several nations, who are always ready to obey the first comer who offers to assist them in repelling a domination which it had taken immense labours to establish; all these Philip represented as insurmountable obstacles to so great a design.

He acknowledges that he had not been always of the same opinion; that the impetuosity of youth had prevented him from making those prudent reflections at first, and that afterwards, two great victories, and the divisions which tore the kingdom of France to pieces, contributed to continue his infatuation, and to make him reject with disdain all the offers that had been made him for an advantageous peace. And as he thought he had reason to fear that his son would not make a better use of his understanding, it was by a declaration of all that a ridiculous ambition had made him unwisely undertake, that he sought to cure him.

He therefore acknowledges as a fault his having endeavoured to get himself declared emperor of all the New World; he accuses himself of a design to invade Italy upon frivolous pretences; to conquer the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, a project which in six years had cost him twenty millions in preparations only for a fleet, with which he expected to overwhelm this power: this was the fleet called the Invincible Armada, which, however, was reduced to nothing at one stroke, in 1588, as soon as it set out; to bring the Low Countries into subjection; to overthrow the French monarchy, by taking advantage of the weakness of the last king, and prevailing upon his subjects, especially the eccle-

siastics, to revolt; and lastly, to deprive his own uncle Ferdinand, and Maximilian, King of the Romans, his nephew,* of the empire. He observes that these intrigues cost him above six hundred millions of ducats;† a proof of which he tells his son he would find in the accounts which he had left in his cabinet, drawn up and written by himself. He blames himself less for his profusion of money than that of human blood which he caused to be shed; and indeed the confession he makes, that he had sacrificed twenty millions of men to his lust of dominion, and laid more countries waste than all those he possessed in Europe, is enough to raise horror in every mind not wholly divested of humanity.

What has been the effect of all this? This is the reflection which he proposes to his son. Providence, as if it had thought itself concerned to prevent such wicked designs from succeeding, caused him to lose Germany, by the jealousy and hatred of his own relations; England, by the winds and storms; Ireland, by the treachery of its inhabitants, whom its great distance secured from his resentment; France, by the instability of the people and their aversion to a foreign domination,‡ and lastly, by the great qualities of their king. So that the mighty preparations he had made, and the torrents of blood that had been shed, procured him no other

* "Philip II. was called the devil of the south, 'Dæmonum meridianum,' because he troubled all Europe, in the south of which Spain lies." (Notes on 'La Henriade.')

† P. Matthieu says, that the Indies yielded to the King of Spain two hundred and sixty millions of gold in the space of sixty-four years; and that he might have conquered all Turkey with that treasure only which he spent in Flanders. (Tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 266.)

‡ In the genuine latter will of Philip II. is an article with regard to Henry IV., the omission of which in our Memoirs is sufficient to prove that the piece to which this name is given is supposititious—namely, that this prince being troubled with strong remorse of conscience for the usurpation of the kingdom of Navarre, recommends to his son what had been before recommended to himself by his father—namely, to cause this point to be carefully examined by the most able lawyers, in order to restore the crown to its rightful owner, if it ought to be done, according to equity. Charles V. had said as much to Philip II., and Ferdinand and Isabella to Charles V. . . . . In this manner to refer the execution of a disposition known to be just to a successor who, one might be assured, would pay no regard to it, is what M. de Thou calls an impudent trifling with the Deity.

advantage than the acquisition of the little kingdom of Portugal to his dominions.

After this, Philip made a more particular application of these instructions to the person and situation of the heir to his throne, and reduced to the following articles the politics from which no king of Spain ought ever to depart, and Philip III. less than any other, on account of his tender age: these articles were, first, to maintain with France the peace which Philip II. himself hoped to have concluded before his death, and this as well in consideration of his own interest and quiet as out of regard to his people: to keep up a good correspondence with the pope, and to strengthen it by having always a great many cardinals in his interest: to be upon friendly terms with the Emperor and his family; nevertheless, not to suffer the pensions to pass through his hands, which his interest required he should continue to the electors, princes, and prelates of Germany, in order to keep them always attached to him by those largesses; at the same time to take care to foment divisions among them, which would afford him the means of turning to his advantage those opportunities that time might produce for acquiring the empire: to be more vigilant on the side of Germany, as there is a greater multiplicity of interests in the northern countries than in any other place. Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, were powers from which he thought there was little to be apprehended; the first, not only on account of its distance, but because the policy of the princes its neighbours, as well as its own, being mistaken, made the King of Poland rather the minister than the master of his subjects: the two others, by reason of their distance likewise, joined to their poverty and unskilfulness in war, were as little to be feared. He took care not to say the same with regard to France, England, and Flanders, which he considered as powers very formidable to Spain, and against which he recommended his son to be always upon his guard.

With respect to England,* his advice was, to neglect nothing to prevent the three crowns which comprise the British Isles from being placed on the same head, an event

* They have made him say at the point of death, when speaking of England, "Pacem cum Anglo, bellum cum reliquis," "Peace with the English, and war with all the rest of the world."

which this able politician, from a spirit of prediction, mentioned as very near; and for that purpose not to regret the money which was distributed in those islands to make partisans, and to continue filling them with spies, but of a different class from those that were then there, whose fidelity Philip II. thought he had reason to suspect. To cultivate carefully those divisions which a diversity of religions might produce in that state, as well as in France: he considered those which the League gave rise to amongst us as things now old and useless, since we had a king of Henry's capacity; but to give occasion for many other civil discords in each of those two states, and especially such as might keep them in war against each other, or at least in distrust and suspicion, which might be done by favouring the pretensions of one upon the other, to which their mutual hatred naturally incited them. To consider as the greatest misfortune imaginable, that stroke which should join the United Provinces and those two powers, already united amongst themselves, in one common interest; since from thence must naturally result a power capable, says he, of subjecting sea and land. To find means to exclude all the princes of Europe from the navigation of the two Indies, an attempt which could meet with no obstructions but from those three powers; and less from France than the two others, because she had no marine; a new motive for gaining possession of the Low Countries, and yet more, of England.

However, amidst all these councils which Philip gave his successor, he never advised him to enter into any war, not even with the rebels in the Low Countries, but earnestly dissuaded him from it. The conduct he recommended to be observed with the Provinces was, to grant a general pardon there; to require nothing of the people but that they should acknowledge the Spanish authority; to watch the behaviour of the governors, ministers, and officers who were maintained there; not to continue them too long, nor to give them too absolute a power, because they would be the persons whom there would be the most reason to fear, if ever they entertained a design of heading the party.

If, however, Spain could not avoid engaging in a war, Philip was not willing that his successor should be deprived of that knowledge which experience had given him in this

respect. He apprised him that, if he proposed not to sink under it, he must not undertake a war but in such favourable opportunities as might from time to time present themselves, such as changes in the government, civil dissensions, faults or necessities of the sovereigns, &c. That maxim of Philip, that a prince should make himself acquainted even with the most particular inclinations of the princes his neighbours, is so true, and of such vast importance, that no change should ever happen in the states about him, but what he should be prepared for, and be in readiness to take immediate advantage of. He concluded this article by showing the new king that he is answerable for his actions at the tribunal of a God who judges wars, and, unhappily, not by the same rules which warlike princes lay down for themselves.

After these maxims, which regarded only the government abroad, Philip proceeded to those which he thought necessary for the government at home. He held it just that a king of Spain, having nations under his command between whose customs and manners there was as great a difference as distance in their realms, should study to govern each according to their respective character, and all with gentleness and moderation; that he should be acquainted with the talents and dispositions of his councillors and secretaries, and choose them himself; that he should likewise expedite all his despatches, and render himself expert in the use of ciphers, that he might not expose a secret of consequence to be betrayed by a confidant: that he should be careful to seek for men of honour and sufficient abilities to bestow employments upon: that he should avoid giving any person any great cause of complaint, especially those of high quality; he observed that the prince, his eldest son,* had suffered by it; and that he should make a just distinction between the ancient and the new nobility, in order to advance the latter, as being generally susceptible of pure and disinterested sentiments: that he should lessen the number of the persons who were employed in the revenues, administration of justice, and the officers of the household; and

* Don Carlos, Prince of Spain: it was by order of his father that he lost his life; and it appears that his crime was rather gaining over the affections of the grandees than treating them with contempt.

recommended the same conduct to be observed with regard to the ecclesiastics; to which he added, that they as well as others ought to contribute to the necessities of the state, not only because they could better afford it on account of their riches, but likewise because it became necessary for them to do so, if they would not forfeit the respect that was due to their character, by luxury, sloth, and impiety, the ordinary fruits of great riches, and the indolence in which they lived; but that he should increase the number of merchants, husbandmen, artists, and soldiers; by whose industry, labour, and frugality alone, a state is supported against the ruin with which it is threatened by the dissoluteness of the other ranks. All principles which, like these, tend to maintain subordination and economy in a state, against corruption and disorder, merit praises from whatever mouth they proceed.

Philip closed his will with the article relating to domestic dispositions. He enjoined his successor to fulfil the promises and other clauses of the Infanta his sister's marriage. He proposed a match for the young king, in which he had already made some advances, and privately regulated all the articles, which he informed him he would find in the hands of Loo. He observed, that no king ever loved his father's favourite; yet, notwithstanding, he would propose Christopher de Mora for his confidant, who had been his own. Philip III. chose rather to prove the truth of the observation than comply with the request, and gave Mora's place to the Marquis of Doria. He required, as an instance of respect due to the memory of a father, that all those persons to whom he had given employments should be continued in them; but he expressed himself in such a manner with regard to this article, as showed he rather wished than hoped for a compliance with it. He recommended to his son the doctors Ollius and Vergius, who had attended him in his illness. He mentioned Antonio Perez* as a dangerous man,

* Antonio Perez had been chief minister to Philip II., with whom he fell into disgrace, for reasons which have no manner of relation to the subject of these Memoirs; he retired to Paris, where he died in 1611. He was a great politician, and a man of very considerable parts; the following maxim was one of his, which includes a deal of meaning in three words, namely, "Roma, Consejo, Piolago," that is, "Gain over

with whom it was necessary he should be reconciled; and afterwards not to permit him to stay either in France, Flanders, or Spain especially, but in the useless country of Italy. Philip concludes this piece with a short maxim: to love God, to endeavour to be virtuous, and to profit by the precepts of a father. It must be confessed, that in this will there are likewise many more instances of piety* and resignation to the will of God, who, he said, had in mercy chastised him in this life rather than in the other.

The first of these articles which was executed by the King of Spain, was that relating to his marriage with the Archduchess of Gratz.† He sent immediately after the death of his father to demand her in marriage, and in the beginning of the year following she set out for Spain, accompanied by her brother, the Archduke Albert, with whom she landed upon the coast of Marseilles, for the benefit of that air. The Duke of Guise, who was governor of the province, having notice of it, sent to let the king know of her arrival, and received orders to give this princess a very honourable reception; his majesty destined fifty thousand crowns to be expended for that purpose, and ordered them to be paid at Marseilles. I was upon the point of sending thither to direct how this money was to be disposed of either La Fond, or another of my domestics, who was only a footman of my wife's, a man of low stature and mean figure, but in whom I had discovered so much capacity, fidelity, and prudence, that I thought I ought to endeavour his establishment; but there was no occasion for it: a person I had upon the spot was sufficient, for the archduchess, notwithstanding the solicitations that were made her by the Duke of Guise and the city of Marseilles, to avoid the ceremonial, would not enter any of the great cities, but ordered tents to be set up upon the shore, where she rested, and heard mass; the archduke, indeed,

the court of Rome, compose the council of proper persons, and be master at sea."

* "He ordered his coffin to be brought him, which was made of copper, and a death's-head to be laid upon a buffet, with a crown of gold by it." (See Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1598, where may be found, together with an account of all that this prince said and did in his last illness, the history also of his public and private life.)

† Margaret of Austria, daughter of the Archduke of Gratz.

was so devout as to visit the churches at Marseilles, but went to them incognito, and without any train, and, after kissing the relics, returned, without either eating or drinking.

This marriage united the two branches of the house of Austria by a double tie, the deceased King of Spain having already, on the 5th of May, the preceding year, married the Infanta Isabella, his daughter, to the Archduke Albert, who for that purpose had divested himself of the cardinal's purple. This princess had, nominally, a very large portion, since it was made up of no less than the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, Franche-Comté and Charolais: but the additional clauses which were inserted, that this new sovereign should be excluded from any commerce in the Indies, and not suffered to permit in his States the exercise of any religion but the Roman Catholic, without which the donation was made void, reduced it, in effect, to nothing, by the difficulty he would find in obliging the Flemings to accept of such hard conditions.

The archduke, till he could go in person to Flanders, to remove all these obstacles, sent the High Admiral of Arragon thither,* in the quality of his lieutenant-general, who performed some actions on the frontiers of Germany; and afterwards his cousin, the Cardinal André, who issued many edicts, but without effect. The house of Austria began to think there was danger in delays; the archduke therefore went himself into the Low Countries, taking with him his bride, on the 5th of September this year, the remainder of which was spent in threatenings on his side, which likewise produced nothing, so that there was a necessity for coming to open force; and this was the beginning of that long and bloody war between Spain and the Flemings, the progress and event of which I shall take notice of each year.

At the same time that the marriage of his Catholic majesty was celebrated in Spain, that of the Princess Catherine with the Prince of Bar† was celebrated at Paris. It was

* Consult the Chronologie Septennaire for the years 1598-9, both as to those military expeditions, and as to all that is here said of the marriage of the King and the Infanta of Spain. (Matthieu, ibid., p. 298, &c.)

† Henry, Duke of Bar, who became Duke of Lorraine after the death of his father, Charles II. "The king gave his sister, at her marriage,

upon this establishment that the princess at length fixed her destiny, hitherto so uncertain. During the life of Queen Catherine it was first proposed to marry her to the Duke of Alençon, but Henry III. would not consent to it, on account of the hatred he bore to his brother. Afterwards, they talked of giving her to Henry III. himself, but this the queen-mother opposed, through the aversion she had to the family of Navarre. The princess, in her turn, refused the old Duke of Lorraine, because he had children by a former marriage. The King of Spain demanded her, on condition of a strict union between the King of Navarre and himself, which the first of these princes would not hear of. The princess was afterwards sought by the Duke of Savoy, but under circumstances wherein this marriage might prove prejudicial to the Protestant religion, and therefore the Protestants themselves threw difficulties in the way. She would not have the Prince of Condé on account of his poverty, and refused the King of Scotland without giving any good reason for it. The Prince of Anhalt made likewise his advances. And in those transports of anger with which she was sometimes animated against the king her brother, she reproached him that he would have thrown her into the arms of three or four other foreign princes, or, as she called them, gentlemen, for the payment of their subsidies. Lastly, her inclination for the Count of Soissons made her reject the Duke of Montpensier, who was a suitable match for her. At length, the necessity of procuring an establishment determined her to accept the Prince of Bar.

This designed marriage was no sooner made public, than the ecclesiastics in general, and the French bishops in particular, then assembled at Paris, found, in the difference of religion of the two parties, a reason for preventing its conclusion, which they did not suffer to escape them. The first measure they took was to hinder, at Rome, with all their power, the despatching of the dispensation, without which they imagined it was not possible to proceed to the celebration of the marriage. In this respect they could not have trusted the care of their interests to one more faithful than

three hundred thousand crowns of gold for her portion," says the historian Matthieu. (Ibid. p. 278.)

D'Ossat, who, nevertheless, was sent to this court to manage those of the king. But this is not the first time, nor will it be the last, that this ecclesiastic has suffered from me the reproach of having not only exceeded, but betrayed his commission. If I may give credit to the memorial from Rome, which has been already mentioned, D'Ossat, in the name of the whole party of whom he was the instrument, neglected nothing to dissuade the pope from granting the dispensation, which he was particularly employed by his majesty to solicit. These persons gave his holiness to understand, that if he continued firm in his refusal to grant this favour, it would produce two things equally to be desired; one, that the princess would turn Catholic; the other, that such a change would be thought by the Protestants an effect of the violence used to her by the king her brother for that purpose, which would increase the distrust they already openly showed of his majesty, make them consider him as their enemy and declared persecutor, and bring on, at length, that intestine war which, according to them, was so much to be desired for the interests of the holy father and the true religion.

The clergy did not stop here; they made remonstrances severe enough to merit the title of threats. His majesty had the complaisance to listen to them, and permitted a conference to be held, in which Dr. Du Val on one side, and the minister Tilenus on the other, endeavouring to support their cause, debated with much heat, and, in my opinion, to little purpose, though each boasted afterwards that he had vanquished his adversary. I speak as one who was a witness of the dispute, for I suffered myself to be drawn along with the crowd which ran thither as to a very interesting spectacle. I did not come in till towards the conclusion, when the two disputants were beginning to sink under their fatigue. I know not for what reason they were desirous of making me play the part of a judge upon this occasion, probably because they were informed I had been employed by his majesty to draw up the articles of marriage between the Princess Catherine and the Prince of Bar. They were beginning to repeat to me all the points of a dispute which had already taken up several hours, but I earnestly entreated them to spare me either this trouble or this honour, telling them that, if two such learned men had not been able to reconcile the canon and decrees of the pope

with the Holy Scriptures, or to prove that such a task was impossible, it could not be expected that an ignorant person like myself should be equal to it; and this was really my opinion.

This conference not having produced all the effects the clergy expected from it,* and finding likewise that they succeeded no better at Rome, they declared that nothing should be capable of prevailing upon them to give their consent to this marriage. Little regard would have been paid to this, but as it was necessary that a bishop should perform the ceremony, and as all those gentlemen held together, hence arose an obstacle, upon which they founded their last hopes.

In this perplexity the king determined to have recourse to the Archbishop of Rouen,† from whom, being his natural brother, and obliged to him for the bishopric, more complaisance was to be expected; besides, his majesty, as well as all France, knew this prelate to be not very scrupulous (to say no more) in matters of religion. However, upon the first proposition made him by the king, the archbishop, like a devout rebel, overwhelmed him with citations, as often ill as well chosen, from the holy fathers, the holy canons, and the Holy Scriptures. The king, astonished, as may be well imagined, at such uncommon language from a man who generally talked of quite different matters, could hardly refrain from laughing in his face, asking him by what miracle it was that he had become so learned and conscientious? Supposing, however, the archbishop might be wrought upon by serious arguments to comply, he tried their efficacy, but finding him still untractable, he grew angry, and reproached him with his ingratitude: "And since you carry it so high," added the king, resuming his first air of pleasantry, "I will send you a great doctor, your usual confessor, who is wonderfully skilful in cases of conscience." This great doctor and director of consciences was Roquelaure, an old companion of Monsieur de Rouen, and an actual sharer in his debauches, and by

* Pèrefixe says, that the king, not being able to accomplish her conversion, though he made use of threats, said one day to the Duke of Bar, "My good cousin, 'tis your business to break her."

† Charles, the natural son of Antony of Navarre by Mademoiselle de la Beraudière de la Guiche, otherwise called La Rouet, who was one of the maids of honour to the queen-mother.

whose entreaty he had obtained the archbishopric. The prelate understood perfectly well the meaning of this slight threat, and the embarrassment he appeared to be in was a proof that he was under some apprehensions of those great advantages which an accustomed familiarity would give Roquelaure over him, without the addition of those which he derived from that wit which all the court acknowledged to be free, ingenious, and fruitful in the most happy sallies; and the archbishop himself was not often guilty of carrying too far the respect due to the episcopal character.

The king having quitted Monsieur de Rouen, sent for Roquelaure; "Do you know, Roquelaure," said he to him, "that your archbishop takes upon him to play the prelate and doctor, and would quote the holy canons to me, of which I believe he understands as little as you or I; however, by his refusal my sister's marriage is stopped: therefore, pray go to him, and talk to him as you used to do, and put him in mind of past times."

"By the Lord, Sire," replied Roquelaure, "this is not well done of him; for it is high time, in my opinion, that our sister Kate should taste the sweets of marriage. But pray, Sire, tell me what reasons this fine fellow of a bishop gave you for his refusal—he seldom has much better to give than myself. I will go to him and teach him his duty." He did not fail to perform his promise. "What is this I hear, archbishop?" said he, as soon as he entered his apartment; "they tell me you have been playing the coxcomb; by the Lord, I will not suffer it: it derogates too much from my honour, since every one says you are governed by me. Know you not that at your entreaty I became your security to the king, when I prevailed upon him to give you the archbishopric of Rouen? therefore I desire you would not make me out a liar, by continuing thus obstinately to act like a fool: this might do between you and I, who are often seen quarrelling at dice, but such disputes must not be thought of when our master's service and his absolute commands are in question."

"Merciful God!" replied Monsieur de Rouen, "what is this you would have me to do, Roquelaure? What! must I make myself ridiculous, and suffer the reproaches of all the

other prelates, by an action which the whole world agrees is unjustifiable, and which every one of the bishops to whom it has been proposed by the king has refused?" "Hold a little, pray," interrupted Roquelaure: "there is a wide difference between them and you; for those men have puzzled their brains so much about Greek and Latin, that they are become fools; and you are the king's brother, and obliged to obey all his commands without any hesitation: the king did not make you an archbishop to preach to him and quote the canons, but to do whatever his service required: if you continue this perverseness and obstinacy, I will acquaint Jeanneton de Condom, Bernarde l'Eveillée, and master Julian, with the whole story. Do you understand me? don't let me tell you this a second time; know, that nothing ought to be so dear to you as the king's favour, which, together with my solicitations, have done you more good than all the Greek and Latin of the others. By the Lord, it is a fine thing to hear you talk of the canons, of which you know as little as of high-German." Monsieur de Rouen endeavoured to persuade him that he ought to quit his ludicrous style, which was agreeable enough when he was in his youth, and hinted something concerning paradise to him. "How! paradise!" interrupted Roquelaure: "are you such an ass as to talk of a place where you have never been, where you know not what is doing, or whether you shall be admitted when you attempt to get in?" "Yes, yes," said the archbishop, "I shall be admitted there, do not doubt of it." "You talk finely," said his companion, pressing still harder upon him: "by the Lord, I believe paradise is as little designed for you as the Louvre for me; but let us lay aside a little your paradise, your canons, and your conscience, and do you now resolve to marry the princess to the Prince of Bar—for if you fail, I shall take from you three or four paltry Latin words that you have always in your mouth; *further, the said deponent knoweth not:* and then adieu to the cross and mitre, and what is worse, to your fine palace of Gaillon, and revenue of ten thousand crowns."

Many other things passed between these two men, which may be guessed at by this sample. Roquelaure would not leave the archbishop till he had made him promise to marry

the princess; and accordingly he was the person who performed the ceremony.* I received from both parties very magnificent presents, in return for the pains I had taken; among others, a Spanish horse of great value, which was given me by the Duke of Lorraine: I sent him to his majesty, who ordered me to keep him.

This was not the only occasion on which the clergy were against the king; they made a more resolute and likewise a more important opposition to the registering the Edict of Nantes, which always appeared to them a difficult morsel to digest; as they had for almost a year held an assembly at Paris on this account, they had had time to prejudice the parliament and other sovereign courts, as well as the Sorbonne, against this edict. All these bodies, as soon as it was published, objected to it, and occasioned disorder that may be better imagined than described. It was the subject of every conversation; every one applied himself to criticise the edict, and to offer different arguments against it, all which were far from being just, as well as the reasons the Parliament gave for not registering it: but that candour and sincerity I have professed to observe here in matters that nearest concern me, oblige me to confess that they were not absolutely to blame.

For example, the Protestants, by one of the articles of the edict, were permitted to call and hold all sorts of assemblies, convocations, &c., when and where they pleased, without asking leave either of his majesty or the magistrates, and likewise to admit into them all foreigners whatever, without acquainting any superior tribunal: as also, on their side, to be present without license at the assemblies which were held amongst the foreigners. It is very plain that a point as absolutely contrary to all the laws of the kingdom, as preju-

* "The ceremony was performed one Sunday morning," says the Chronologie Septennaire. . . . . "The king came to fetch the Lady Catherine, his sister, when she was dressed; and leading her by the hand into his closet, where her future spouse had come before her, he ordered M. the Archbishop of Rouen to marry them, &c., and that it was his pleasure it should be so. This the archbishop at first refused, alleging that the usual solemnity ought to have been observed therein. To which the king very learnedly made answer, that his presence supplied the want of all other solemnity, and that his closet was a consecrated place."

dicial to the authority of the king,* the right of the magistracy, and the utility and quiet of the people, could not have been obtained but by stratagem; and it was upon this point likewise that the enemies of the Protestants insisted chiefly, in the several remonstrances they made to the king, each alleging those arguments in which they were most interested. The Parliament remonstrated that this article completed the ruin of their authority, which the clergy had already confined to such narrow limits, as well as the king's (for it was pretended that these two authorities were so closely connected that they could not be separated); that if appeals against the irregular exercise of ecclesiastical authority should be taken away, they would have only the shadow of any power. The clergy and the Sorbonne complained of the superiority this concession would give the Protestant over the Catholic Church in France, which had never been possessed of so large a power in its jurisdiction: and this was certainly true. Lastly, they enumerated all the bad consequences which this absolute independence of the French Huguenots might produce, either among themselves or their associations with all the enemies of France in Europe.

The king, in his reply to these remonstrances, observed that he could not conceive how so important an article had been passed over in the edict without any difficulty, as he did not remember that anything whatever had been then said to him about it, though he had ordered them to give their opinions respecting all the new articles, or those of the greatest importance: however, he promised to inquire fully into it, after which he would give the Parliament an answer, or make such provisions as should give them entire satisfaction. When they left him, he immediately sent for me, and showing me the edict, I concealed from him none of the

* "This point," says the Septennaire, "the Marshal de Bouillon had managed with some persons, who perhaps were not aware of the danger of it; but the Sieur Berthier, who was agent for the clergy, and Bishop of Rieux, disputed it so warmly with the marshal in the presence of the king, that, after hearing his reasons, and in regard of the importance of the point itself, his majesty ordered it to be erased." (Ann. 1599, p. 66. This account of M. Cayet's agrees with that of F. Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. ii. pp. 280 et seq.)

sentiments I have delivered here: I added, that by too great zeal to make this article advantageous for the Protestants, I thought he was doing them a mischief, in that it would give large scope for all the slander that would be invented against the worthy men of the party, of their intriguing with foreigners against the state, or of suffering themselves to be suborned. The king approved of all I said, and ordered me not to mention it, or take the least notice that he had spoken to me on the subject, because he wished that I should be present at an assembly (which he would convoke) of all the most considerable Protestants, in order to represent to them the inconveniences of this article, and to induce them to consent to its modification, where, by my supporting this proposition, as being for the advantage of his majesty's service, he did not doubt but my arguments and influence would have considerable effect. I promised to act accordingly; and the king then sent for Schomberg, the President De Thou, Calignon, and Jeannin, who had been commissioned to treat with the Protestants, and in some degree reproached them with having passed so important an article—and at which all the clergy were offended—without any difficulty, or acquainting him with it. De Schomberg and De Thou, who were the two principal persons, made no other excuse than that Messieurs de Bouillon, La Trémouille, Du Plessis, their ministers, and the Protestant deputies, were so obstinate respecting it, nay, had even used threats of retiring, and rejecting the whole of the edict if this article did not pass; that considering the state of France, and the peace with Spain not being certain, they judged it to be more advisable to accede to it, than, by breaking off the conference, to throw the kingdom again into its former confusion, a point to which they saw both Huguenots and Catholics (though with different views) tending. The king having represented this to the syndic Berthier, and observed that Messieurs de Schomberg, de Thou, and Jeannin having been always good Catholics, he had left everything to them, believing that they would not fail to provide carefully for whatever related to the Catholic religion and its church. To this Berthier, somewhat irritated, made answer that when the same thing had been alleged in the assembly of the clergy, many of the most zealous had observed that it was not surprising so little care

had been taken in the affairs mentioned by his majesty, since every one knew the deputies were very indifferent Catholics, neither of them having for a long time prayed to the saints, or kneeled before the image of the Virgin or the cross, and did not believe in indulgences, the merit of good works, prayers for the dead, purgatory, pilgrimages, nor fasts by distinction of food;* therefore he entreated his majesty, in the name of all the clergy of the kingdom (as he was a good Catholic and believed in all these things), to remove the scandal so pernicious an article would occasion, without paying any further attention to the opinions of those who had been appointed to draw up the edict, since they were considered by many to have as little faith in the doctrines of the Catholic as the Protestant Church. The king assured Berthier that he would immediately act in such a manner as should give satisfaction to all parties, provided they would listen to reason.

On the following day I repaired to the general assembly, which was convoked, of all the principal Protestants who were at this time in Paris, and to which I had been invited the day before, in the belief, perhaps, that I should refuse to come, as I had done on previous occasions. As I entered, the Duke de Bouillon said to me, "By what I see, sir, we shall at last have the happiness you have so often denied us, that is, to find you among us in settling our affairs; and we cannot but conclude, since you have taken this trouble, that it is not without particular reasons." I replied that on the former occasions I was so occupied in settling the state of

* If a certain private conversation be true, which D'Aubigné makes the President De Thou to hold with the Duke de la Trémouille, when he was sent by his majesty to the assembly of the Calvinists, the suspicions of the clergy would not be ill-founded. "You have too much judgment," says the president to him, "not to know very well that, considering the point at which matters now stand, and the concessions we have already made you, the demands which you may make are not at their utmost height. M. de Schomberg is a Lutheran, and very far from being a good Calvinist; as for my own part, you shall know the inmost thoughts of my heart." (Tom. iii. lib. v. chap. i.) But it is very probable that D'Aubigné has related this conversation upon the credit of persons not to be depended on, as also some other points of his history, which at that time drew an arrêt of parliament upon the work.

the finances, that I had not been able to attend to anything else; but that having now finished that business, I had employed the leisure it afforded to testify my zeal for the Protestant religion, and for the service of them all, without any other design whatever, as I did not even know for what reason my presence had been requested in the assembly. "We believe you," said La Trémouille; "but whatever may be the cause of your coming hither, the company considers it as a favour." I went, and seated myself between Messieurs de Mouy, de Clermont, and De Saint-Marie du Mont, who asked me if I was not informed of the reasons why the assembly had met. I answered in the negative. They then told me it was to consider an article which had been introduced into the edict, and which was disapproved by almost all the Protestants, except the Duke of Bouillon, La Trémouille, Du Plessis, and some others in their interest. From what they had learnt, they continued, the author of the article was the Duke of Bouillon, who hoped by it to make his Church of Sedan one of the body of Protestant churches in France, without prejudicing his pretensions to be a foreign prince, in case he should get Sedan created a fief of the empire,* in order to take the rank of prince of it, without the opposition of any one, as he saw that not only the dukes and peers, but also the marshals of France, when his seniors, wished to take precedence of him; but that all this being now too apparent, he would find very few to support the obnoxious article. I delivered my sentiments to the assembly, which were approved of; and it was agreed that the article should be altered, which was done, together with several others, before the edict was agreed to.† There were

* Consult the Life of the Duke of Bouillon, liv. v.

† The Edict of Nantes was ratified on Thursday, the 25th of February, this same year, after many difficulties started by the clergy, the university, and the parliament. It was upon this occasion that Henry IV. said to the bishops, "You have exhorted me concerning my duty; let me now exhort you concerning yours; let us excite a mutual emulation in each other, which of us shall perform their parts the best. My predecessors gave you good words; but I, with my grey jacket on, will show you good deeds: though I am all grizzled without, yet I am all gold within; I will look into your papers, and answer them as favourably as I can." The following was the return he made to the parliament, when they came to make him remonstrances: "You see me in my

many evil-disposed persons, both Protestants and Catholics, who secretly endeavoured to procure the total rejection of the edict, in order to throw France once more into all the miseries of a civil war; but the king's wisdom and firmness surmounted all these difficulties, and brought the whole affair to a peaceable termination.

The king acted with the same prudence with respect to some disaffected Catholics, who being unwilling to appear openly themselves, brought one Martha Brossier, a pretended demoniac, in play, who had become the object of the people's curiosity, who are always struck with the marvellous, whether true or false. It is, indeed, surprising that a matter so ridiculous in itself, and which was even below the consideration of the mob, should have been talked of for a year and a half, and become an affair of state. One half of the world suffer themselves to be dazzled by everything that seems supernatural, and others are kept in awe, not by the thing itself, but by the motives upon which it is founded. Martha Brossier met with many protectors among the clergy, even as far as Rome, whither she took care to be carried. The king, without any extraordinary notice, allowed both the time and means necessary to make itself known;* after which the whole

closet, where I come to speak with you, not in my royal robes, nor with my sword and other military habiliments on, as my predecessors were wont, nor like a prince who is to receive an ambassador, but clad like the father of a family, in his plain doublet, to speak familiarly with his children; what I have to say to you is, to entreat you would register, with the usual solemnities, the edict which I have granted to those of the Calvinist religion. What I have done is for the sake of peace, which I have concluded with the neighbouring powers around me, and would have the same observed within my own dominions." After he had told them the reasons that induced him to grant this edict, he added, "Such as would hinder my edict from passing are for war, which I will to-morrow declare against the Protestants, but I will not carry it on, I will send them to it. I made the edict, and would have it observed: my will ought to be a sufficient reason; for in an obedient state they never ask their prince any other. I am king, I speak to you as such, and I will be obeyed." (Pèref. ibid., and Journal d'Henri IV., ibid. See also in M. de Thou, and in Le Septennaire, anno 1599, the several modifications which were added to the edict of Nantes, and all the conferences held on this occasion.)

* We have a very curious account of all that relates to this pretended demoniac in M. de Thou, at the beginning of book cxxiii. ann. 1599, of which the following is an abstract: one James Brossier, a baker at

trick ended in the general contempt of its authors and actress.

The death of a great many persons of distinction about this time afforded matter for other discourse. The Chancellor de Chiverny, Schomberg, and D'Incarville, all three members of the council of the finances, dying within a short time of each other, occasioned a great alteration of affairs: the seals were given to Belliévre; the office of comptroller-general, which D'Incarville had possessed, was, at my solicitation, granted to De Vienne; and that of superintendent of the finances was restored in my favour. Henry having sent for me to the garden of the Tuilleries, where he was walking, told me that

Romorantin in Sologne, taking a dislike to his own trade, turned conjuror, with a design to travel about the country with his three daughters, Martha, Silvina, and Mary. The eldest, who is the person spoken of here, had succeeded so well, by the instructions which her father had given her to counterfeit a demoniac, that she imposed upon everybody at Orleans and Cleri, except Charles Miron, Bishop of Angers, who found out the imposture, by putting common water in the place of holy water, and holy in the place of common; by repeating a verse from Virgil instead of the beginning of the exorcism, and touching her with a key instead of his episcopal crosier. This did not hinder her from coming to Paris, where she pitched upon the church of St. Geneviève for the scene on which to show herself to the people, who flocked thither in great numbers. She imposed upon all the credulous ecclesiastics, and upon the Capuchins, who began to exorcise her in good earnest; and even upon some physicians whom Henry IV. had sent to see her: though all the rest deposed formally against her, especially Michael Marescot, one of the physicians, who publicly convicted her of not understanding Greek or Latin, and having no greater capacity than what is common to her sex: and, in short, of being an impostor and an arrant cheat. But notwithstanding all this, the ecclesiastics and preachers knew so well how to interest religion in this affair, and the pretended demoniac played her part so well, that the arrêt of parliament, which enjoined her, as also her father, to return home, how wise and reasonable soever it was, occasioned strange murmurings, and almost a revolt in Paris; and this gave the king a deal of uneasiness, who saw that what enemies he had remaining of the old League did appear again on this occasion. Alexander de la Rochefoucault, Lord of Saint-Martin and Count of Randan, even undertook to revive this affair, by causing Martha to be sent to Avignon, and thence to Rome, where she gained still more partisans. But, unluckily for her, Cardinal d'Ossat was there, who employed himself so effectually in this affair, that at length Martha and all her family saw themselves utterly abandoned; and they lived and died despised and quite miserable. (Consult also the other historians.)

he was resolved to entrust the care of the finances to one man only; and, assuming a very serious manner, made mo promise to give freely my opinion of that man, when he should name him to me. Having assured him that I would, he smiled, and tapping my cheek, told me I had reason to know him well, since it was myself. His majesty bestowed on mo likewise the post of surveyor of the highways, for which he sent me the patents, together with those of superintendent of the fortifications; and Sancy, resigning himself up to his usual whims,* having thought proper to retire from the council, and to give up the office of overseer of the works, the king added these employments likewise to the other favours he loaded me with. The appointments for the superintendency were settled at the rate of twenty thousand livres; those of surveyor of the highways, and of Paris in particular, were ten thousand livres.

His majesty was so well pleased with this method of fixing the rate of salaries, that he was likewise desirous of regulating in the same manner the gratuities he proposed to give me; as well, he said, to prevent me from expecting a gratuity for every considerable service I did him, as to spare himself the trouble of causing all the presents he made me to be registered, since without that I would not receive any from him, however trifling their value was: he therefore declared to mo that all those rewards and presents should for the future be comprised in one settled gratuity, which would be paid mo the beginning of every year, in the form of letters patent registered by the Parliament; and asked me beforehand if I was satisfied with the sum, which was sixty thousand livres, adding that it was his desire that with this money I should purchase estates, which I should be at liberty to dispose of in favour of such of my children as made themselves most worthy of my affection, in order to keep them more firmly attached to me. This goodness of the king merited my most grateful acknowledgments. However, this regulation which I have mentioned here was not made till the year 1600, and did not begin to take place till the year 1601.

* Joseph Scaliger, as well as our author, speaks of M. de Sancy as a fanatic, and as very subject to enthusiastic reveries.

Mademoiselle de Bourbon* died likewise this year; and Monsieur d'Espinac,† Archbishop of Lyons, who may be said to have tasted of all kinds of fortune; then Madame la Connétable, and after her Madame de Beaufort: these two last deaths made a prodigious noise everywhere, and were attended with a great similarity of very uncommon circumstances; both were seized with a violent distemper that lasted only three or four days, and both, though extremely beautiful, became horribly disfigured, which, together with some other symptoms which at any other time would have been thought natural, or only the effects of poison, raised a report in the world that the deaths of these two young ladies, as well as their elevation, was the work of the devil, who had now come to pay himself for the short felicity he had procured them. And this was certainly believed, not only among the people, generally credulous to a high degree of folly, but by the courtiers themselves. So prevalent at that time was the infection of trading in the occult sciences, and so great were the hatred and envy to these two ladies, on account of the high rank they enjoyed.

The following is what was related (as it is said) of the constable's‡ lady, by the ladies who were then at her house: she was conversing gaily with them in her closet, when one of her women entered in great terror, and told her that a certain person, who called himself a gentleman, and who had indeed a good appearance, saving that he was quite black, and of a gigantic stature, had just entered her ante-chamber, and desired to speak to her about affairs of great consequence, which he could not communicate to any but herself. At every circumstance relating to this extraordinary courier, which the woman was ordered to describe minutely, the lady was seen to turn pale, and was so oppressed with grief, that

* She was daughter to Henry I., Prince of Condé, by his first wife, the Princess of Nevers, Marchioness de l'Ile, &c.

† Peter d'Espinac: he had been a great partisan of the League: however, P. Matthieu assures us that he had done considerable services to Henry IV. against Spain (tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 308), and he gives an eulogium of his virtues. M. de Thou, on the contrary, represents him in book xc. as an incestuous and simoniacal person.

‡ Louisa de Budos, second wife to Henry, Constable de Montmorency, was daughter to James de Budos, Viscount of Portes.

she could scarce tell her woman to entreat the gentleman, in her name, to defer his visit to another time; to which he replied, in a tone that filled the messenger with horror, that since the lady would not come willingly, he would take the trouble to go and seek her in her closet. She, who was still more afraid of a public than a private audience, resolved at last to go to him, but with all the marks of deep despair.

The terrible message performed, she returned to her company, bathed in tears, and half dead with dismay; she had only time to speak a few words to take leave of them, particularly of three ladies who were her friends, and to assure them that she should never see them more. That instant she was seized with exquisite pains, and died, at the end of three days, inspiring all who saw her with horror at the frightful change of every feature in her face. Of this story the wise thought as they ought to think.

Madame de Beaufort was the weakest of her sex with regard to divination; she made no secret of her consulting with astrologers, and always had a great many of them, who never quitted her; and what is most surprising, although she always, doubtless, paid them well, yet they never foretold her anything but what was disagreeable: one said that she should never be married but once; another, that she should die young; a third, that she should take care of being with child; and a fourth, that she should be betrayed by one of her friends. Hence proceeded that melancholy which oppressed her, and which she could never afterwards get rid of. Gracienne, one of her women, has since told me, that she would retire from all company to pass whole nights in grief, and in weeping, on account of these predictions.

Being then far advanced in her pregnancy, few persons will be at a loss to guess the cause of that misfortune which attended it. She was already greatly indisposed both in body and mind, when, at the latter end of Lent, she was desirous of making one of the party with the king at Fontainebleau; she stayed there but a few days. The king, who was not willing to incur the censure of keeping this lady with him during the Easter holidays, entreated her to leave him to spend them at Fontainebleau, and to return herself to Paris.* Madame de

* According to P. Mathieu (tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 316), she came to Paris,

Beaufort received this order with tears; it was still worse when they came to part: Henry, on his side, more passionately fond than ever of this lady, who had already brought him two sons, and a daughter, named Henrietta, did himself equal violence. He conducted her half way to Paris;* and although they proposed only an absence of a few days, yet they dreaded the moment of parting, as if it had been for a much longer time. Those who are inclined to give faith to presages, will lay some stress upon this relation. The two lovers several times renewed their parting endearments, and in everything they said to each other at that moment some people have pretended to find proofs of those presages of an inevitable fate.

Madame de Beaufort spoke to the king as if for the last time;† she recommended to him her children, her house of Monceaux, and her domestics; the king listened to her, but instead of comforting her, gave way to sympathising grief. Again they took leave of each other, and a secret emotion again drew them to each other's arms. Henry would not so easily have torn himself from her if the Marshal d'Ornano, Roquelaure, and Frontenac, had not taken him away almost by force. At length they prevailed upon him to return to Fontainebleau; and the last words he said were to recommend his mistress to the conduct of La Varenne, with orders to provide everything she wanted, and to conduct her safely to the house of Zamet, to whom he had chosen to confide the care of a person so dear to him.

I was at Paris when the Duchess of Beaufort arrived there; and intending to go with my wife a few days after to receive the communion at Rosny, whither I carried the Prince and Princess of Orange, to whom I was desirous of showing the new buildings which the king's liberality had enabled me to raise there, I thought I was under a necessity of waiting upon the duchess, to take my leave of her. She no longer remembered anything that had passed at St. Germain, but

in order to have the articles of the purchase of Chateauneuf in Perche expedited.

* She lay at Melun the day before, whence the king conducted her to the boat in which she embarked to come down to the Arsenal.

† D'Aubigné speaks in the same manner of this parting, tom. iii. liv. v. ch. iii.

gave me a most obliging reception; not daring to explain herself clearly upon that compliance with her projects to which she so ardently wished to bring me, she contented herself with endeavouring to engage me in her interests, by mingling with those civilities which she showed but to few persons, words that carried a double sense, and hinted to me a boundless grandeur, if I would relax a little of the severity of my counsels to the king with regard to her. I, who was as little moved with the chimeras that filled her head, as with those she thought to inspire me with, pretended not to understand any part of a discourse so intelligible; and answered her in equivocal terms, with general protestations of respect, attachment, and devotion, which might bear any construction one chose.

At my return home, I desired my wife to pay the same compliment to the duchess; she was received with equal tenderness: Madame de Beaufort, entreating her to love her, and to be with her as a friend, entered into confidences that would have seemed the last instance of the most intimate friendship to those who, like Madame de Rosny, were ignorant that the duchess, who had no great share of understanding, was not very delicate in the choice of her confidants; it was her highest pleasure to entertain at first sight any person with her schemes and expectations; and the more those she conversed with were her inferiors, the less restraint she laid on herself; for then she no longer guarded her expressions, and often assumed the airs of a queen.

She had as little caution with respect to what really happened, as to what she was in expectation would happen; too much simplicity on such occasions gave rise probably to those reports which were spread concerning some irregularities in her conduct when she was very young. These censures, however, appeared to me to be the mere effect of the malice of her enemies; for it could not be imagined that a woman would carry her imprudence and folly so far as to say both good and ill of herself indifferently; and I never thought I had any reason to reproach myself with having confined in the Bastile for six years a woman named La Rouse (who was one of her servants), and her husband, who after the death of this lady continued to load her memory with the utmost infamy; for although all they said had been true, yet the

respect that was due to her family, and still more, the tenderness the king had for her and the children she brought him, ought to have silenced their slanders.

Madame de Rosny could not help being surprised at the duchess's discourse, and was still more so when this lady, making an awkward assemblage of those civilities which are practised between equals, and the airs of a queen, told her she might come to her *coucher* and *lever* whenever she pleased, with many other expressions of the same kind. My wife, as well as every one else, concluded there would be a great change in the duchess's fortune, and returned home full of those reflections, which she communicated to me. I had not even disclosed to my wife what had passed between the king and myself upon this subject, nor the scene at St. Germain; I promised to acquaint her with the true state of things, provided she would not tell the Princess of Orange what Madame de Beaufort had said to her; and we set out together for Rosny.

Two days after, which was the Saturday before Easter, as I was performing my promise to Madame de Rosny, and acquainting her with the duchess's design to get herself declared queen, all the practices of her relations and dependants for that purpose, the struggles the king had in his own mind, and the resolution he had at length taken to overcome himself, adding some reflections upon the calamities which a contrary conduct would bring upon the kingdom, I heard the bell of the first gate of the castle without the moat ring; and none of my servants answering, as it was yet scarcely day, the bell was rung with more violence, and a voice several times repeated, "I come from the king!" I immediately awakened a footman, and while he went to open the gate I slipped on a night-gown, and ran down stairs, greatly alarmed at being sent to so early in the morning.

The courier said that he had travelled all night to tell me that the king desired I would come instantly to Fontainebleau. His countenance had so deep a concern on it, that I asked him if the king was ill? "No," he replied, "but he is in the utmost affliction: madame the duchess is dead." The news appeared to me so improbable, that I made him repeat it several times; and when convinced that it was true, I felt my mind divided between grief for the condition to

which her death reduced the king, and joy for the advantage all France would gain by it, which was increased by my being fully persuaded in my own mind that the king, by this transitory sorrow, would purchase a release from a thousand anxieties, and much more anguish of heart than what he now actually suffered. I went up again to my wife's chamber full of these reflections. "You will neither go to the duchess's *coucher* nor *lever*," said I, "for she is dead." I brought the courier up with me, that while I dressed, and he breakfasted, he might inform us of all the circumstances of this great event, which was still better related in the letter La Varenne had written from Paris to the king, and which his majesty sent me by the courier, together with a second from La Varenne, directed to myself.

Zamet* had received his guest with all the assiduity of a courtier who is solicitous to please, and neglected nothing which he thought might contribute to make her pass the time agreeably. On Maundy-Thursday Madame de Beaufort, after dinner, where she had eaten of the greatest delicacies, and all prepared to her taste, had an inclination to hear the evening service at St. Anthony's the Less: she was there seized with fainting fits, which obliged her to be carried back immediately to Zamet's. As soon as she arrived she went into the garden, where she was immediately attacked with an apoplectic fit, which it was expected would have instantly stifled her. She recovered a little, through the assistance they gave her; and, strongly possessed with a notion that she was poisoned,† commanded them to carry

* Sebastian Zamet, a rich private gentleman, was an Italian, a native of Lucca; but he got himself naturalized in 1581, together with his two brothers, Horace and John Antony. He desired the notary who drew up his daughter's contract of marriage, to style him Lord of Seventeen Hundred Thousand Crowns. Henry IV. had pitched on his house for his meals and parties of pleasure: this prince besides loved him because he was a facetious and merry man.

† D'Aubigné gives us to understand this, when he says that, after she had refreshed herself with Zamet, by eating a large citron, or, according to others, a salad, "she immediately felt such an inflammation in her throat, and such violent twitchings in her stomach, that," &c. But neither De Thou, Bassompierre, Le Septennaire, nor any other historian, imputes her disorder to poison. Le Grain ascribes it to the crude and cold juice of the citron. Sauval says, that he knew

her from that house to Madame de Sourdis her aunt, who lived in the cloister of St. Germain.

Scarce had they time to put her in bed when thick succeeding convulsions, so dreadful as amazed all that were present, and in a word, all the symptoms of approaching death, left Varenne—who had taken up the pen to write the king word of the accident which had happened—nothing else to say, but that all the physicians, from the nature of the case, despaired of his mistress's life, as the most violent remedies were requisite, and the circumstance of her being far gone with child made all applications mortal.* Scarce had he sent away the letter when Madame de Beaufort, drawing near her last moments, was seized with new convulsions, which turned her black, and disfigured her so horribly, that La Varenne, not doubting but the king, upon the receipt of his letter, would set out immediately to see his mistress, thought it better to send him word in a second note that she was dead, than to expose him to a spectacle at once so dreadful and afflicting, as that of a woman whom he tenderly loved expiring in agitations, struggles, and agonies, that left hardly anything of human in her figure.

La Varenne, in the letter he sent me by the same courier, informed me that the duchess was not dead, but, by what he could judge, had not an hour to live;† in effect, she expired in a few moments after, in so general a subversion of all the functions of nature as to inspire horror and dismay. The king, who upon the receipt of La Varenne's first letter, had not failed to mount his horse immediately, received the second when he had got half way to Paris, and listening to nothing

some old men who remembered to have seen the duchess lie in state in the nunnery of St. Germain.

* "The physician La Rivière came in great haste upon this occasion," says D'Aubigné, "with others of the king's physicians, and, entering but three steps into her chamber, when he saw the extraordinary condition she was in, went away, saying to his brother physicians, 'This is the hand of God.'" (Tom. iii. liv. v. c. iii.)

† Saturday morning, the convulsions had writhed her mouth to the back of her neck. Her body was opened, in which a dead child was found. (See, concerning her death, M. de Thou, liv. cxxii.; Matthieu, ibid.; Le Grain, liv. vii.; Le Septennaire, ann. 1599; Mem. de Bassompierre. De Thou, Matthieu, and Bassompierre place her death a day sooner.)

but the excess of his passion, was resolved, notwithstanding all that could be said to him, to have the consolation of seeing his mistress once more,* though dead, as he believed her to be. The same persons who had carried him back the first time to Fontainebleau, prevailed upon him by their arguments and entreaties to return once more, and it was from this place that he despatched the courier to me.

* According to Bassompierre, who speaks of it as being an eye-witness, Henry did not believe that his mistress was yet dead. He says that La Varenne having come to acquaint the Marshal d'Ornano and himself, who had accompanied the duchess to Paris, that she was just dead, they both took horse, in order to carry the melancholy news to the king, and keep him from coming to Paris. "We found," says he, "the king on the other side of La Saussaye, near Vilejuif, coming on post-horses with all expedition. As soon as he saw the marshal, he suspected that he came to bring him the news, which, as soon as he heard, he made great lamentation for her. At length they prevailed with him to go into the Abbey La Saussaye, where they laid him upon a bed, when, at last, a coach coming from Paris, they put him into it, in order to return to Fontainebleau." (Mem. de Bassompierre, tom. i. pp. 69 et seq.) Le Grain adds, that he fainted away in his coach between the arms of the master of the horse. Without attempting, in any respect, to justify the excessive fondness of Henry IV. for this woman, justice obliges us to observe here, that this attachment was no less founded on the good qualities of her heart and mind than the beauty of her person, and that the antipathy only which is commonly borne towards such as are in the same condition, makes people say all the ill of her that we see related in these Memoirs and in the other historians. I will conclude this article with what D'Aubigné says, who is a writer naturally more inclined to blame than to commend: "It is a wonder," says he, "how this woman, whose great beauty had nothing of the loose turn in it, could have lived rather like a queen than a mistress for so many years, and that with so few enemies. The necessities of state were the only enemies she had to encounter." He had said before, that she used with great moderation her power over the king; and P. Matthieu adds, to the good qualities which he remarks in this lady, that of having often given very good counsel to Henry IV. (Ibid.) "She would not suffer any other person near her," says Le Grain also (liv. viii.), "though the Lord of Liancourt was a man of great merit, and of a very honourable family, insomuch that this marriage was dissolved before it was consummated." Some accounts of that time speak of Nicholas d'Amerval, Sieur de Liancourt, as a person of truly distinguished birth, and of great fortune, but whose mind, say they, was as badly formed as his body. Mademoiselle d'Estrées married him only to get rid of the tyrannical treatment she received from her father, and because the king promised her that he would hinder the consummation of the marriage, and even dissolve it· which he actually did.

I did not lose a moment. I breakfasted at Poissy, and dined at Paris. I made use of the Archbishop of Glasgow's coach to carry me as far as Essonne, from whence I took post, and at night got to Fontainebleau. I went immediately to the king, who was walking in a gallery, sunk in an excess of grief that made all company insupportable: he told me that, although he expected the sight of me would at first increase his affliction, as in effect it did, yet he was sensible that in the condition to which the loss he had suffered had reduced him, he had so much need of consolation that he did not hesitate a moment to send for me, to receive the assistance I only could give him.

With a prince equally sensible of what he owed to religious and political duties, I was not at a loss for sources from whence to derive arguments to calm his sorrow. I recalled to his remembrance some of those passages in the Holy Scriptures wherein God, as a Father and master, requires that fortitude and perfect resignation, the effect of which is to inspire a Christian with a contempt for all sublunary things; to which I added such as might incite to the acknowledgments and adoration of Divine Providence, as well in deep misfortunes as unexpected success. I made no scruple to represent to Henry that the event which now gave him all this affliction was among the number of those which he would one day look upon as most fortunate. I endeavoured to place him, in imagination, in that painful and (had his mistress lived) unavoidable situation, when, on one side struggling with the force of a tender and violent passion, and on the other with the silent convictions of what honour and duty required of him, he would be under an absolute necessity of coming to some resolution with regard to an engagement which he could not break without affliction or preserve without infamy. Heaven, I told him, came to his assistance by a stroke, painful indeed, but which could only open the way to a marriage upon which depended the tranquillity of France, the happiness of his people, the fate of Europe, and his own good,—to whom the blessing of a lawful union would always appear too dearly purchased by the desertion of a woman who, by a thousand good qualities, was worthy of his affection.

I easily perceived that this last argument, enforced in a

manner advantageous to his mistress, made an impression upon Henry's heart, by the soothing pleasure it gave him to hear his choice approved of. He confessed to me that it was some relief to him to find me placing his attachment for the Duchess of Beaufort among the number of those which are formed by a real sympathy of minds, and not on mere libertinism; and that he had been apprehensive I would have no otherwise endeavoured to comfort him than by rendering him ashamed of his passion for her. This first conversation was very long. I do not remember everything I said to the king. All I know is, that, after having first applied those gentle soothings that affliction demands, the continuance of which I opposed by arguments drawn from the necessity all princes and persons in public positions have of preserving under the most reasonable causes of sorrow, that freedom of mind requisite for affairs of state; Henry had not the weakness to resign himself up to grief through obstinacy,* or to seek a cure in insensibility. He listened more to the dictates of his reason than his passion, and already appeared much less afflicted to those persons who entered his chamber. At length, every one being careful not to renew his grief, and which his daily employments gradually diminished, he found himself in that state in which all wise men who have great experience of affliction, ought to be, that is, neither condemning nor flattering the cause, nor affecting either to recal or banish the remembrance of it.

Joyeuse likewise employed the public attention at this time: having from a soldier and a courtier† become a Capu-

* Henry IV. made all the court go into mourning for the death of the Duchess of Beaufort. He himself was dressed in black for the first eight days, and afterwards in violet. (Mem. de Chiverny.)

† Henry de Joyeuse, Count of Bouchage, and youngest brother of the Duke of Joyeuse, who was slain at Coutras. "As he was passing through the streets of Paris one morning about four o'clock, near the convent of the Capuchins, after he had spent the night in a debauch, he imagined that he heard angels singing the matins in the convent; at which, being much affected, he immediately turned Capuchin, under the name of Frère-Ange. Afterwards he quitted the frock and carried arms against Henry IV., at which time the Duke of Mayenne made him governor of Languedoc, a duke, peer, and marshal of France. At last he made his peace with the king; but one day, this prince being with him on a balcony, under which was a great number of people

chin, and afterwards from a Capuchin become again a soldier and a courtier, he resumed his inclination for the frock, which it was pretended the pope had only during the war granted him a dispensation for quitting; and this time he wore it till his death. The marriage of his daughter,* the sole heiress of the family of Joyeuse, to the Duke of Montpensier, was the last action of his public life. The Marchioness de Belle-Isle,† after his example, took the habit of a nun of the order of St. Bernard.

assembled, 'Cousin,' says Henry IV. to him, 'this multitude seems to me to be very contented and easy at seeing together an apostate and a renegade.' This saying of the king's made such an impression on Joyeuse that he entered again into his convent, where he died." This anecdote is taken from the Notes on the 'Henriade.'

* Henrietta Catherine de Joyeuse. There survived of this marriage only one daughter, whereby the branch of Bourbon-Montpensier became extinct.

† Antoinetta d'Orleans de Longueville was the widow of Charles de Gondy, Marquis of Belle-Isle, and eldest son of the Marshal de Retz. Mezeray informs us that the reason of her retiring was the mortification she had received by not being able to revenge the death of her husband, a soldier whom she had employed for this purpose having been taken and hanged, for she could not obtain his pardon of the king. The Marquis de Belle-Isle had been killed in 1596, at Mount St. Michael, by a gentleman of Brittany, called Kermartin. L'Etoile speaks of her as a woman who was much admired by all the court on account of her beauty and understanding, and as an eminent example of devotion and penitence in her convent.

BOOK XI.

[1599—1601.]

Affairs of the Marquisate of Saluces—Artifices of the Duke of Savoy to avoid making a Restitution of Saluces—Journey of Henry IV. to Blois—Dissolution of his marriage with Margaret of Valois—His amours with Mademoiselle d'Entragues, who persuades him to give her a promise of marriage—The courage and resolution of Rosny on this occasion—Articles of Marriage with the Princess of Florence concluded—Foreign affairs—Rosny takes upon him the guardianship of his nephew, D'Epinoy—Revocation of the permission for manufacturing rich stuffs—Rosny is made master-general of the ordnance, and gives great application to the affairs of this post—The Duke of Savoy comes to Paris—Brings over the courtiers to his interest—Endeavours to bribe Rosny, and afterwards to exclude him from the Conferences, but fails in both attempts, and returns home—Nicole Mignon attempts to poison the King—A public dispute between the Bishop d'Evreux and Du Plessis-Mornay—New subterfuges of the Duke of Savoy—Reasons for declaring war against him—Preparations made by Rosny for this war—Henry IV. marries the Princess of Florence by proxy—Takes Chambéry, Bourg, Montmélian, Charbonnières, &c.—Other particulars of this campaign—Great services performed there by Rosny, notwithstanding the jealousy and opposition of the courtiers—Cardinal Aldobrandin comes to negotiate a peace—Rosny's reception of him—The Conferences broken off by the demolition of Fort St. Catherine—Resumed by Rosny, who concludes the treaty—The queen comes to Paris, and is received by Rosny at the Arsenal—Foreign affairs.

THE time settled for the agreement about the marquisate of Saluces, of which the terms were referred to the pope, had elapsed without any decision by his holiness, because the Duke of Savoy, who knew better than any other person that it could not be favourable for him, had, to elude the sentence,* made use of all those arts that were generally practised in this little court, whose policy it was, when its safety or advantage was in question, to employ cunning, treachery,

* This marquisate was a transferable fief of Dauphiny, to which the house of Savoy had no right.

submission, and the appearance of the strongest attachments. The first thought that presented itself to the Duke of Savoy's mind was to revoke an agreement which had only been made to gain time, or with the hope that France would embroil herself with the holy see; but as this proceeding seemed too disingenuous, he had recourse to another artifice to make the pope voluntarily resign the arbitration: he apprised his ambassador at Rome that he had certain intelligence from France and Italy that Clement VIII. had suffered himself to be gained by the king, on the private condition that his most Christian majesty should engage to yield afterwards to the pope himself all his claims upon the marquisate of Saluces. The ambassador, who was first imposed upon by his master, explained himself in such a manner upon this collusion that his holiness, who had only accepted of the arbitration for the advantage of both parties, resigned it with indignation.

The Duke of Savoy, who had not doubted but that the pope would act in this manner, gave the king, however, to understand that he would rely entirely upon him, without having recourse to any foreign arbitration upon the dispute. He thought by piquing this prince upon his honour to obtain that which was the subject of their contest, which he took care to have represented to him as a thing of such small value that it could not merit the attention of so great a king. And it was with these instructions that the Sieurs de Jacob, de la Rochette, de Lullins, de Bretons, and De Roncas, the Duke of Savoy's agents, came to Paris.

With views of this nature, the minister and confidant of the prince is commonly the person whom agents begin to engage in their interest, or (to be plainer) whom they endeavour to corrupt; and if he should not appear very virtuous, do not even conceal from him the design with which they come, and in their discourse make no longer any use of that caution which is observed in a congress. These gentlemen, therefore, told me that their master did not pretend to hold the marquisate of Saluces of his majesty any otherwise than as a mere gift of his munificence; and at the same time insinuated to me plainly enough, that this present would produce from the Duke of Savoy advantages for me proportionable to the importance of the request, and my solicitude to secure its success. I would not seem to understand these last words; and

with regard to the first, I told the agents drily, that since, as they well knew, no one could bestow upon another what was not immediately in his own possession, it was necessary the Duke of Savoy should first begin by resigning all claim to the marquisate of Saluces, and that then his majesty, who, I assured them, had no less greatness of mind than his highness, would use his power royally. And I very earnestly entreated them to address themselves directly to the king, which they did, discouraged with the manner in which I spoke to them. Henry treated them with great civility, but appeared so resolute upon everything that regarded the marquisate, that, after several useless attempts, they laid aside all thoughts of succeeding by this means.

Finding all France, and the court itself, filled with malcontents and mutinous persons, they imagined that by pushing them on to some violent resolution, they might give Henry sufficient employment within the kingdom, to make him lose sight of all that passed without. The Duke of Savoy's presence appeared to them absolutely necessary to engage more closely those lords who listened to their suggestions, and they wrote to him that his interest required that he should take a journey to Paris. This project was perfectly suited to the duke's character;* he consented to it, and ordered them to request his majesty's leave for that purpose, which the king would have denied, if he could have done it with any appearance of reason. But the Duke of Savoy had deprived him of the least pretence, by protesting that he undertook this journey in order that he might himself treat with his majesty: or rather, that he came to submit entirely to the king's will. This declaration he accompanied with so many complaints against Spain, that he seemed to be on the point of coming to an open rupture with that crown, and that henceforward he would place all his hopes of security on a union with France. He had a short time before refused an advantageous proposal made him by the King of Spain, to send his son and his eldest daughter to the Court of Madrid, to appear there as princes of the blood-royal of Spain.

By this step of the Duke of Savoy, the pope was fully de-

* It is said that this prince, during his residence at the court of France, one day let fall the following words, "I am not come into this kingdom to reap, but to sow."

termined to concern himself no further with the affairs of Saluces: but nothing could make the king neglect two things, which, from the very first appeared to him absolutely necessary, namely, to give up no part of that satisfaction which was due to him from the duke, and to discover all his transactions with the malcontents of his court. Among these, the king always gave Marshal Biron the first rank. His majesty knew that during the stay this marshal made in Guienne, he had solicited the nobility of that province to engage in his interests, and that at his own table he had had such conversations with them, as proved him to be an enemy to the royal authority. All this might have been attributed to the pride and insolence of his disposition; but what gave most weight to this behaviour was that his intrigues at the Court of Savoy, although carried on with all possible caution, came at the same time to his majesty's knowledge, and the journey the king took this year to Blois, had in reality no other object than to disconcert the projects of Biron, and to retain the people in their duty; but in public, the king talked of it as a party of pleasure, to pass the summer in that agreeable climate, and to eat, he said, some of the excellent melons there. His removal from Paris, likewise, in the state things then were, was a matter of indifference.

I attended his majesty, whose stay at Blois produced nothing of consequence enough to be mentioned: he passed his time there in the employment I have already mentioned, and in endeavouring to procure the so earnestly desired dissolution of his marriage with Margaret of Valois. As long as the Duchess of Beaufort lived, no one was solicitous to press Henry to a divorce, either because they apprehended that their endeavours would turn to the advantage of his mistress, who was universally hated, or that they did not care to expose themselves to the rage of this woman, who was always to be feared, even though her designs should not succeed: but as soon as she was dead, there was a general combination of the parliament, of all the other bodies, and of the people, to solicit him on this subject. The procureur-general came to his majesty, and entreated him to give his subjects this satisfaction. The king, though he was not determined upon his choice, promised, however, to yield to the desires of his people.

I now resumed my correspondence with Queen Margaret with more ardour than before: I had taken no pains to remove the obstacle which this princess made, on Madame de Beaufort's account, to the consent that was required of her; for I looked upon it as a resource to which, probably, every one must have applied; and it was this only that could have restrained the Court of Rome, if the king had suffered himself at last to be gained by his mistress. Besides, the compliance I observed in Margaret assured me that she did not make it a pretence for an absolute refusal. I was confirmed in this opinion by the answer she wrote me from Usson, to a letter I had just sent her, in which I mentioned the sacrifice that was expected from her, in very respectful but in very clear terms, as such negotiations require. Margaret, on her side, to show that she perfectly understood what was to be done, explained herself absolutely upon the bill of divorce, annexing to it such reasonable conditions as took away all difficulty for the future: she only desired a decent pension might be assigned her, and that her debts might be paid; appointing a man to conclude this affair either with the king or with me, who, though firmly attached to her, could not be suspected: this was Langlois, who had served his majesty so faithfully in the reduction of the city of Paris, and had been rewarded for it with the post of master of the requests. It was not easy to find a man who was more capable of business: he brought his majesty an answer from Margaret;* for the king thought he likewise was under a necessity of writing to her, which he did with equal goodness and complaisance, but in terms far less explicit than I had done. With the letters, Langlois brought a statement of this princess's demands, which were immediately granted. To render the king more firm, Langlois undertook to make her write to the pope in terms that gave his holiness to understand that she was far from being constrained to this act; that she had the same solicitude for the conclusion of this affair as all France had. D'Ossat, provided with a writing of the same kind, found no more obstacles: he was seconded by Sillery, who endeavoured to efface the scandal of his first commission. The

* See these two letters of Henry IV. to Margaret de Valois, and of Margaret's to Henry, in the New Collection des Lettres d'Henri le Grand.

holy father used no more delays in granting the favour that was demanded of him than what decency and ceremony required; and did not suffer himself to be influenced by suggestions of envious persons—a detestable sort of men, who are to be found in every place. He appointed the Bishop of Modena, his nephew and nuncio, to put the finishing stroke to this affair, which could be only done in France, associating with him two commissioners of that nation, the Archbishop of Arles* and the Cardinal de Joyeuse: the course they were to take was to declare the parties free from all engagements by the nullity of their marriage.

While this affair was hastening towards a conclusion, Henry returned to Fontainebleau; and giving great part of his time to diversions and the pleasures of the table, heard Mademoiselle d'Entragues† often mentioned. The courtiers, eager to flatter his inclination for the fair, spoke so advantageously of the beauty, wit, and sprightliness of this young lady, that the king had a desire to see her, and became immediately passionately enamoured of her. Who could have foreseen the uneasiness this new passion was to give him? But it was Henry's fate that the same weakness which obscured his glory should likewise destroy the tranquillity of his life.

The lady was no novice: although sensible of the pleasure of being beloved by a great king, yet ambition was her pre-

* Horace del Monte, the Archbishop of Arles, and Francis de Joyeuse, the second son of William de Joyeuse. These three commissioners having met in the palace of Henry de Gondy, Bishop of Paris, after maturely examining the reasons alleged on both sides, declared the marriage void, by reason of consanguinity, difference of religion, spiritual affinity, compulsion, and for want of the consent of one of the parties: for Henry IV. and Margaret de Valois were related in the third degree, the mother of Jane d'Albret, who also was called Margaret, being the sister of Francis I. (See the history and pieces concerning this divorce in Matthieu, tom. ii. book ii.; De Thou, liv. cxxiii.; La Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1599.)

† Catherine Henrietta, daughter to Francis de Balzac, Lord of Entragues, Marcoussis, and De Malesherbes, by Mary Touchet, mistress to Charles IX., whom he married for his second wife. The writings of those times represent her as not so beautiful, though younger, than the fair Gabrielle, and still more gay, ambitious, and enterprising. This sketch, which corresponds with what the Duke of Sully says here, will be very much confirmed in the sequel of these Memoirs.

dominant passion, and she flattered herself she might make so good a use of her charms as to oblige her lover to become her husband. She did not therefore seem in haste to yield to his desires; pride, chastity, and interest were employed in their turns; she demanded no less than one hundred thousand crowns for the price of her favours; and perceiving that she had only increased Henry's passion by an obstacle—in my opinion much more likely to cool it, since his majesty was obliged to tear this sum from me by violence,—she no longer despaired of anything, and had recourse to other artifices; she alleged the restraint her relations kept her in, and the fear of their resentment.* The prince endeavoured to remove all these scruples, but could not satisfy the lady, who, taking a favourable opportunity, at length declared that she would never grant him anything unless he would give her a promise, under his hand, to marry her in a year's time. It was not upon her own account, she said (accompanying this strange request with an air of modesty, with which she well knew how to inflame the king), that she asked for this promise; to her a verbal one had been sufficient, or, indeed, she would have required none of any kind, being sensible that her birth did not allow her to pretend to that honour, but that she would have occasion for such a writing, to serve as an excuse for her fault to her relations; and observing that the king still hesitated, she had the address to hint, that in reality she should look upon this promise as of very little consequence, knowing well the king was not to be summoned to a court of justice like one of his subjects.

What a striking example of the tyranny of love! Henry was not so dull but that he plainly perceived this girl endeavoured to deceive him: not to mention likewise those reasons

* This fear was not entirely without foundation. If we may believe the Marshal de Bassompierre, in his Memoirs, her mother was indeed very condescending in this affair; and it was even she who drew the king to Malesherbes, a house where she lived; but her father was not so complying, any more than the Count of Auvergne, half-brother, by the mother, to the lady. They wished to pick a quarrel with the Count of Lude, whom Henry IV. employed upon this occasion; and they carried the lady to Marcoussis, where the king nevertheless went to see her. (Tom. i.)

he had to believe her far from being a vestal, or those intrigues against the State of which her father, mother, her brother, and even herself, had been convicted, and which had drawn upon this family an order to leave Paris, which I had so lately signified to them from his majesty; notwithstanding all this, the king was weak enough to comply with his mistress's desires, and promised to grant her request.

One morning, when he was preparing to go to the chase, he called me into the gallery at Fontainebleau, and put this shameful paper into my hands. It is a piece of justice which I am so much the more obliged to do Henry, as the reader must perceive that I do not endeavour to palliate his faults, to acknowledge that in the greatest excesses to which he was hurried by his passions, he always submitted to a candid confession of them, and to consult with those persons whom he knew were most likely to oppose his designs. This is an instance of rectitude and greatness of soul rarely to be found amongst princes. While I was reading this paper, every word of which was like the stab of a poniard, Henry sometimes turned aside to conceal his confusion, and sometimes endeavoured to gain over his confidant by condemning and excusing himself by turns; but my thoughts were wholly employed upon the fatal writing. The clause of marrying a mistress, provided she bore him a son in the space of a year (for it was conceived in these terms), appeared indeed ridiculous, and plainly of no effect; but nothing could relieve my anxiety, on account of the shame and contempt the king must necessarily incur by a promise which, sooner or later, would infallibly make a dreadful confusion. I was also afraid of the consequences of such a step in the present conjuncture, whilst the divorce was pending; and this thought rendered me silent and motionless.

Henry, seeing that I returned him the paper coldly, but with a visible agitation of mind, said to me, "Come, come, speak freely, and do not assume all this reserve." I could not immediately find words to express my thoughts, nor need I here assign reasons for my perplexity, which may be easily imagined by those who know what it is to be the confidant of a king, on occasions when there is a necessity for combating his resolution, which is always absolute and unalter-

able. The king again assured me that I might say and do what I pleased without offending him, which was but a just amends, he said, for having forced from me three hundred thousand livres. I obliged him to repeat this assurance several times, and even to seal it with a kind of oath; and then no longer hesitating to discover my opinion, I took the paper out of the king's hands and tore it in pieces, without saying a word. "How!" said Henry, astonished at the boldness of this action, "Morbleu! what do you mean to do? I think you are mad." "I am mad, I acknowledge, Sire," replied I, "and would to God I were the only madman in France!" My resolution was taken, and I was prepared to suffer everything rather than, by a pernicious deference and respect, to betray my duty and veracity; therefore, notwithstanding the rage I saw that instant impressed on the king's countenance, while he collected together out of my hands the torn pieces of the writing, to serve as a model for another, I took advantage of that interval to represent to him, in a forcible manner, all that the subject may be imagined to suggest to me. The king, angry as he was, listened till I had done speaking; but, overcome by his passion, nothing was capable of altering his resolution; the only effort he made was not to banish from his presence a confidant who acted too sincerely. He went out of the gallery without saying a single word to me, and returned to his closet, whither he ordered Lomenie to bring him ink and paper; he came out again after some minutes, which he had employed in writing a new promise. I was at the foot of the staircase when he descended: he passed by without seeming to see me, and went to Malesherbes to hunt, where he stayed two days.

I was of opinion that this incident ought to put no stop to the affair of the divorce, nor hinder another wife from being sought out for the king, but rather that it should hasten both. His majesty's agents at Rome made, therefore, the first overtures for a marriage between Henry and the Princess Mary of Medicis,* daughter of the Grand Duke of Florence.

* Mary de Medicis, daughter to Francis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, by the Archduchess Jane of Austria, daughter to the Emperor Ferdi-

The king suffered us to proceed in this business, and, by the force of repeated importunities, even appointed the constable, the chancellor, Villeroy, and myself, to treat with the person whom the grand duke should send to Paris. We were resolved not to let the affair sleep. Joannini, the person deputed by the grand duke, was no sooner arrived than the articles were instantly drawn up and signed by us all.

I was fixed upon to communicate this news to the king, who did not expect the business would have been concluded so suddenly. As soon as I replied to his question from whence I came, "We come, Sire, from marrying you," this prince remained a quarter of an hour as if he had been struck with a thunderbolt. He afterwards walked up and down his chamber hastily, delivering himself up to reflections, with which his mind was so violently agitated that for a long time he could not utter a word. I did not doubt but that all I had represented to him had now a proper effect. At length, recovering himself like a man who had taken his resolution, "Well!" said he, rubbing his hands together, "well, *par-dieu!* be it so, there is no remedy: if for the good of my kingdom I must marry, I must." He acknowledged to me that the fear of succeeding no better in his second than his first marriage was the cause of his irresolution. Strange caprice of the human mind! A prince who had extricated himself, with glory and success, from a thousand cruel dissensions which war and policy had occasioned, trembled at the very thoughts of domestic quarrels, and seemed more troubled than when that very year, upon notice sent from a Capuchin of Milan,* an Italian who had come to Paris with an intention to poniard him was seized in the midst of the court. The marriage, though concluded on, was not solemnised till the following year.

Other foreign affairs which happened this year, and which remain to be mentioned, are these: the war in the Low

nand. She had for her portion six hundred thousand crowns, besides rings and jewels. (La Chronologie Septennaire, anno 1600, p. 121, and Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 336, give an account of the negotiations of D'Ossat and Sillery relating to this marriage.)

* His name was Frère Honorio. Henry IV. thanked him himself for it, and caused several advantageous offers to be made him by his ambassador at Rome. (Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. xxii. p. 302.)

Countries, which was vigorously begun when the archduke went into those provinces; the king, upon reiterated complaints from Spain, forbad his subjects to bear arms in the service of the States, but this was merely for form's sake, policy not permitting him to suffer the Flemings to be oppressed;—his majesty not only forbore to punish those who disobeyed these orders, but likewise assisted that people privately: the war in Hungary, which I shall say nothing of, except that the Duke of Mercœur asked and obtained leave to serve with the troops of the Emperor Rodolph: the revolution that happened in Sweden, where the then reigning king and elected one of Poland,* was dethroned by his subjects (who put his uncle Charles Duke of Sudermania in his place), and lost all hope of ever being restored, by the defeat he received from his rival.

With respect to my own personal affairs, the following was the most considerable. This year, the Princess of Epinoy† came to me when I was at Blois, to engage my interest with the king against the Princes of Ligne, who had attempted to usurp her estate, and that of her children. These children were five in number, four of whom, three sons and her eldest daughter, she had brought with her; the youngest was educated under the care of Madame de Roubais, widow of the Viscount de Gand, her uncle and mine. The princess told me, that the nearest relation by the father's side which her children had in France being myself, it was fit I should be their guardian. I willingly accepted of this trust, to procure them justice; and had the satisfaction at the end of seven years, during which time I took the same care of these children as of my own, to restore to them the possession of all their estates, which amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand livres a year. I shall have occasion, hereafter, to take notice of the obligations they received from his majesty.

* Sigismond. This misfortune befel him for attempting to re-establish the Catholic religion in Sweden. (See, with regard to all these foreign affairs, De Thou, Le Septennaire, and other historians, an. 1599.)

† Hippolyte de Montmorency, widow of Peter de Melun, Prince of Epinoy, died in 1594. The princes of Ligne, of whom he speaks here, were L'Amoral, Prince of Ligne, governor of Artois, who married Mary of Melun, who had the seigniories of Roubais, d'Antoing, &c., and his brothers.

About the same time the merchants of Tours came to entreat my assistance in procuring leave for them to establish manufactures of silks, and of gold and silver stuffs, which had not yet been made in France, together with a prohibition to import any from foreign countries for the future, assuring me that they had sufficient to supply the whole kingdom. Before I gave them their answer, I required time to examine if their report were true; and being convinced it was not, I endeavoured to dissuade them from an enterprise which could not miscarry with impunity: I could not prevail. Upon my refusal they addressed themselves directly to his majesty. I thought it necessary not to oppose an establishment, which, if well conducted, might be of great use. The king, overcome by their importunity, granted all they asked; but six months had scarce passed, when, for want of having taken proper measures, they came to get their commissions revoked, which had given general discontent, on account of the inconvenience and increase of expense to the purchasers which had been produced by this new regulation.*

The king, believing the affair of the marquisate of Saluces would not be finished without striking a blow for it, had for some time thought of getting a man to perform the duties of master-general of the ordnance who was capable of acquitting himself well of them, and above all, of acting by himself; this good old D'Estrées was not able to do: however, his majesty would not take away the post from him, for his children's sake, of whom Monsieur d'Estrées was the grandfather: but the expedient he hit upon was, that the elder De

* The murmurings of the bankers and the public farmers of the revenue, whose profits the new prohibition had considerably diminished, likewise contributed not a little to its revocation. (Chronologie Septennaire, p. 94, an. 1599.) The case is the same with regard to these stuffs as all the other parts of traffic. The freedom of trade which should subsist between all the nations of the world will not give us, in this respect, any advantage over our neighbours, further than we can find out the methods of manufacturing these stuffs ourselves of a more beautiful, finer, or cheaper fabric. Even at this day a great number of foreigners take them off our hands, and the prohibition is in force only as to Indian stuffs and printed linens; but it were to be wished that we would be more careful to forbear the use of the latter, or rather make in France such stuffs as would serve instead of those which are so commodious and serviceable.

Born, being desirous of resigning the post of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, I might treat with him for it, and unite the duties of that employment to those of the master-general of the ordnance, although I was not invested with this last. He even offered, in my favour, to augment the privileges of the first, already very considerable, by raising it into an office, giving it authority over all the lieutenant-generals in the provinces, augmenting the salary, and lastly, by granting the patents gratis. However, I must acknowledge that I was not to be won by these offers, and could not resolve to serve under another, after having been disappointed of the first place; I therefore excused myself, upon the business I was already charged with, from not complying with the king's intentions. The king was not to be imposed upon by this answer, and, after many solicitations, which I knew how to defend myself against, he left me in anger, telling me that he would mention it to me no more, but that since I would listen to nothing but my own caprice, he would take his own way.

His kindness for me made him that moment forget his threat. He caused a proposal to be made to Monsieur d'Estrées to resign his employment, which being informed of, I offered, by Monsieur and Madame du Peche, three thousand crowns to Madame de Néry, who governed the old man entirely, to procure his consent; the master-general of the ordnance being importuned by this woman, told the king that he was willing to accept of an equivalent for his post. The king immediately acquainted me with this resolution, adding that he required nothing of me for the offence I had given him, but to put his artillery into a condition to obtain the marquisate of Saluces for him, which, he was every day more convinced, would not be yielded without force, that is to say, without a great number of very difficult sieges; for that is the usual way of carrying on a war in Savoy. I thanked his majesty, and agreed with D'Estrées for eighty thousand crowns; all these petty claims arising to a considerable sum more, I was, on this occasion, obliged to take up rents to the value of a hundred thousand crowns from Morand, Vienne, and Villemontée; and three days afterwards I was solemnly

invested with the dignity* of master-general of the ordnance, and took the usual oaths. This was the fourth great office with which I was then honoured; the annual produce of it was twenty-four thousand livres. I thought myself obliged, in gratitude to his majesty for this last instance of his bounty, to bestow all my cares on the artillery. I visited the Arsenal, where everything seemed to me in such a miserable condition, that I resolved to take up my residence there, that I might apply myself wholly towards its re-establishment, although this castle was then very ill built, and destitute of every convenience.

The affairs of the artillery were still worse. I began by a reform of the officers of this body, who, not having the slightest notion of their business, were, in fact, only the servants of the officers of the court of justice. I cashiered about five hundred of them at one stroke. I conferred next with the commissaries for saltpetre, and agreed with them for a considerable provision of powder, which I showed to the king. I treated likewise with the masters of great iron-works, for iron to make carriages and bombs; with foreign merchants for the metal; and with cartwrights and carpenters, for the wood-work necessary for the designs I had formed. His majesty came to visit his arsenal himself fifteen days after I was settled there; and these visits became afterwards one of his chief amusements: he took pleasure in seeing all the preparations that were making there, and the extreme diligence with which I applied myself to them. This diligence indeed was no more than necessary in the present posture of affairs in Savoy, the detail of which, and that of the war they produced, will make up the subject of these Memoirs during the whole of the following year. It was at

* The king declared it an office of the crown, and that in favour of M. de Sully. Brantôme, in the place where he gives us the list of the masters-general, speaks thus: "Since Monsieur de Rosny has had this charge of master-general, who undoubtedly does the place so much honour, the arsenal is in very good order, owing to his great capacity and application, especially as the importance of the thing itself and his own good sense would have it so. Witness what he performed in the last war with Savoy, where, in a short time, he gave proof of very quick despatch and diligence, by being sooner in the field than he was expected." (Vies des Hommes illustres, art. M. Rosny, tom. i. pp. 227, 228.)

the end of this year that the Duke of Savoy left his own dominions to come into France with those intentions I have already mentioned, but they were too well known to produce the effects he had promised himself from his artifices. The reflections which the past conduct of this prince, together with that of his agents, and a knowledge of his character, gave rise to, were far from being favourable to him. There was likewise something still more positive against him: Lesdiguières had sent advice to his majesty that the duke was fortifying his castles and towns with great care, especially those of Bresse, and furnishing them with ammunition and provisions. It was known by means of the Count de Carces and the Sieur du Passage, that he had strongly solicited the court of Madrid and pressed the pope to procure a second reference of the affair, representing to him that it was the interest of all Italy not to suffer his most Christian majesty to possess anything beyond the Alps. The French residents at Florence sent advice that the duke's purpose by coming into France was to circumvent the king, who on his side was persuaded that it was M. de Savoy himself who would be the dupe, not only of him, but of the King of Spain and other princes of Italy; for these last were at no pains to conceal their dislike of the Duke of Savoy's ambitious and restless spirit: and the King of Spain had not forgot the public complaints he made, that while they gave the Low Countries and Franche-Comté, of more value than the two Castiles and Portugal, as a portion for one of their Infantas, the other, whom he had married, had nothing but a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary. Many other indecent sallies of the like nature, followed by reciprocal complaints, had absolutely ruined their former good understanding.

The event proved the justness of those observations which the letter the king showed me from Lesdiguières occasioned; but in public he showed no resentment at what he had learned of the duke's proceedings; he even ordered me to spare no expense to give him such a reception at Lyons as is due to foreign sovereigns. The duke, I believe, had no cause to complain of me upon this account; but Messieurs the Counts of Saint-John did not act in the same manner: they denied him certain honours which the Dukes of Savoy

claimed in the assembly of canons as Counts of Villars.* It was at Fontainebleau and at Paris where the show was most magnificent.† The Duke of Savoy, on his part, appeared with a splendour suitable to his rank.

Three days after his arrival at Paris, the king, who was desirous of showing him the new regulations in the Arsenal, sent me notice that he would come and sup there with the duke and the chief lords and ladies of his court. The Duke of Savoy came so long before, that I could not impute such extraordinary haste to mere accident. He desired to see the magazines, which was not what I wanted; I was ashamed of the poverty of the old magazines, and therefore carried him into the new workshops. Twenty cannons lately cast, and as many more in readiness for it, forty completely mounted, and several other works which he saw carrying on with great diligence, surprised him so much that he could not help asking me what I meant by all these preparations. "Sir," replied I, smiling, "to take Montmelian." The duke without showing any indications that this reply had a little disconcerted him, asked, with an air of gaiety and freedom, if I had ever been there, and upon my answering him in the negative, "Truly, I thought so," said he, "or you would not have talked of taking it; Montmelian is impregnable." I answered in the same tone, that I would not advise him to oblige the king to make the attempt, because I was very certain Montmelian would in that case lose the title of impregnable.

These words gave our conversation immediately a very serious turn. The Duke of Savoy taking occasion to men-

* It was by order of the king, according to F. Matthieu (vol. ii. b. ii. p. 323), that the canons of Lyons refused the Duke of Savoy the place of honorary canon in their cathedral, which they had granted to the former duke, his father, and that for a very obvious reason, the house of Savoy having since that time lost possession of the earldom of Villars. This ceremony consisted in presenting some sacred vestments to the duke at the entrance of the cloister, and giving him rank in the church among the canons.

† Notwithstanding this magnificent reception, the Duke of Savoy, after the first conference he had with Henry IV., became sensible that he was not likely to obtain his demand. "I have delivered my message," says he, "and may now go whenever I will." (Matthieu sur le Voyage de ce Prince en France, tom. ii. liv. ii.)

tion the affairs which brought him into France, had already, in a polite manner, begun to make me sensible that he knew I was not in his interest, when we were interrupted by the arrival of his majesty, and afterwards nothing was thought of but pleasure. However, the same night commissioners were named for examining the occasion of the contest: the constable, the chancellor, Marshal Biron, Meisse, Villeroy, and myself were appointed for the king; and for the Duke of Savoy, Belly his chancellor, the Marquis de Lullin, the Sieurs de Jacob, the Count de Morette, the Chevalier de Bretons, and Des Allymes.

The Duke of Savoy had already brought over the greater part of our commissioners to his interests; he gained them completely at last, by the liberal gifts which he bestowed both on them and the whole court at the opening of the new year.* But I was the person who gave him most trouble; for every time that the question was debated amongst the commissioners, I constantly held firm to this determination: either that a restitution should be made to his majesty of the marquisate of Saluces, or that Bresse, and all the border of the Rhone from Geneva to Lyons, should be given him in exchange. But for the apparent incivility of such a proceeding, they would have solicited my exclusion from their meetings; therefore they had again recourse to an attempt to gain me, which they resolved to do at any price whatever.

On the 5th of January, Des Allymes† came to make me

* The duke sent the king two large basons and two crystal vases, as a new-year's gift. "In return for which, the king gave the duke a crochet of diamonds, where, among others, was one with his majesty's picture; it was a very fine piece, and the duke had a great value for it; he made presents to all who came to compliment him." (Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1600.) It was said that he had gained over the Duchess of Beaufort to his interest; so that if this lady had not died, it is probable the restitution of Saluces might have been dispensed with. The Duke of Savoy playing at primero with Henry, on a bet of 4000 pistoles, the king neglected his play, supposing that he had already won the game; but the duke, who had it in his own hand, contented himself with showing the cards to the Dukes of Guise and D'Aubigné, who were present, and then shuffled them together. It is D'Aubigné that relates this circumstance of the duke's generosity or policy.

† René de Lucinge des Allymes, ambassador from Savoy to the court of France.

the usual compliments in the name of his highness: he entreated me, with great politeness, to attend to his master's reasons; that is, in plain terms, to approve of them; for at the same time that he made me this request, he presented me with his highness's picture, in a box enriched with diamonds of fifteen or twenty thousand crowns value. To assist me in making a composition with my conscience, he told me that this picture came from a daughter of France; and while he perceived me busy in admiring the brilliants, added, that it was given me by a prince whose attachment to the king was equal to his friendship for me. I still kept the picture in my hand, and asked Des Allymes what were the proposals he had to make me. He, who thought the decisive moment was now come, immediately displayed his whole stock of eloquence, and, for want of good reasons, endeavoured to prove the advantage that was to be gained by the pretended rupture of his master with Spain, who offered to assist the king in conquering Naples, Milan, and the empire itself. All this cost him nothing; and to hear him, one would have thought that he had been able to dispose absolutely of those dominions, for which, he added, that he did not doubt but the king would yield willingly to the duke a paltry marquisate.

I could no longer keep silence. I told Des Allymes, that if the king demanded the marquisate of Saluces to be restored to him, it was not on account of its value, since that was very inconsiderable; but that he could not in honour suffer the crown to be dismembered of one of its ancient domains, and which had been usurped at a time when the Duke of Savoy, having received the highest obligations from Henry III. at his return from Poland, ought in gratitude to have abstained from it. I thanked the deputy for his obliging expressions in my favour; and to repay his compliments with others, assured him, that when the Duke of Savoy had made an absolute restitution of Saluces, I would not forget to use my interest with his majesty, to engage him to procure those opulent kingdoms for the duke which he had offered to the king, and which would be much more convenient for him than his majesty. Saying this, I opened the box, and after praising the workmanship and the materials, I told Des Allymes, that the great value of the present was the only

reason which hindered me from accepting it; but that if he would allow me to return the box and the diamonds, I would keep the picture with great pleasure, in remembrance of so obliging a prince. Accordingly, I separated the box and diamonds from the picture; when Des Allymes telling me that it did not belong to him to make any alterations in his master's presents, I entreated him to take back the whole, and he left me, in despair of ever being able to engage me in his master's interest, and appeared but little satisfied with my behaviour.

All that remained now to be done was to exclude me from their meetings. Upon his majesty refusing to gratify them in this request, the Duke of Savoy took it in his head to desire that the Patriarch* of Constantinople might assist at these meetings in the name of the pope, which the king agreed to, not thinking of the artifice concealed under this proposition. The next day, the king having an inclination to play at tennis, appointed the assembly to be held at the constable's house, because he could conveniently make his party when he went from thence, after he had seen the conference begun: but before he left us, he exhorted all the commissioners to have a strict regard to justice; and whispering me in particular, "Take care of everything," said he, "and do not suffer them to impose upon you."

Upon the king's departure, I found, that instead of taking their seats, they divided into parties, two and three together, the nuncio sometimes conferring with one set, sometimes with another, not suffering the business to be entered upon regularly; and, above all, carefully avoiding to say anything to me. At length Bellièvre told me, that the good patriarch could not subdue his scruples about conversing with a Huguenot; and entreated me, in the name of the assembly, to absent myself, since nothing could be done while I was present. I instantly comprehended the cause of this behaviour; and bowing profoundly, withdrew, intending to go and give the king an account of what had passed. I met him in the gallery, where he had stopped to speak to Bellengreville: he asked me, with some surprise, if all was over already; and

* Father Bonaventure de Calatagirone, general of the Cordeliers, and the pope's nuncio.

upon my acquainting him with the truth of the matter, he fell into a great rage, and ordered me to return to the commissioners, and tell them, that if there was any person amongst them to whom my presence was displeasing, it was his business to withdraw, not mine. I disturbed a little the joy of the assembly, by repeating this new order of the king. The measures they took were, to waste the hours in seeking for expedients, till dinner-time approached; and then they deferred entering upon the question till the afternoon. But notwithstanding all their endeavours with his majesty, I continued still in the number of the commissioners, and the nuncio was obliged to vanquish his reluctance.

Brétons and Roncas turned themselves on every side, to avoid yielding to a restitution of the marquisate; they offered to do homage for it to his majesty, and if that was not sufficient, to hold Bresse upon the same conditions. I easily rendered all these proposals ineffectual, and got it unanimously declared, to give the Duke of Savoy this alternative, either to resign Saluces to the king, or, in its place, the county of Bresse as far as the river Dain, the vicarship of Barcelonette, the valley of Sture, that of Perouse, and Pignerol; in which case, all the towns and fortresses taken on both sides were to be restored.*

The Duke of Savoy expected a quite different conduct from the commissioners; but the truth is, they dared not openly oppose a determination which they knew to be the king's: all the resource they had left was, to join with the courtiers in supporting the interests of the Duke of Savoy, and who were continually representing to the king, that he ought not to act too rigorously with a prince, whose alliance might be purchased at a very inconsiderable price, and would be much more advantageous than a fief of no value, and which would be very difficult to preserve. The alterna-

* A kind of agreement was concluded upon this plan between the commissioners, which it was much suspected the Duke of Savoy would not observe, because of the delays he desired; whereupon, as Le Grain relates, some one proposed to Henry that the Duke of Savoy should be seized, and by that means obliged to perform his part of the articles; but this proposal was rejected by the king. (See the particulars of the negotiation, and of the duke's residence at Paris, in M. de Thou, and in Le Septennaire, ann. 1599, 1600.)

tive they offered the Duke of Savoy afforded them a pretence for granting him six months to come to a determination: he desired eighteen; and I maintained there was no necessity for any delay. I went to his majesty to acquaint him with this resolution, which was taken in spite of me, and represented to him the great inconvenience of giving the Duke of Savoy so long a time to renew his correspondence, and to prepare for war. Henry, prejudiced by the discourse of the courtiers on the necessity of granting a delay to the Duke of Savoy, asked me how it was possible to do otherwise. "By granting the Duke of Savoy," said I, "an honourable escort of fifteen thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty cannon, to conduct him to Montmelian, or what other place he shall choose to go to, and there oblige him to explain himself upon the alternative that has been proposed to him." The king did not approve of my advice; his word was given to the contrary: I was truly grieved at it; for I have been always firmly persuaded, that, but for this compliance, his majesty might have avoided a war, and have received complete satisfaction. All I could obtain was, that instead of six months, three only should be granted.

The Duke of Savoy, finding that his majesty, who was weary of the continual solicitations made to him on this subject, would no longer answer otherwise than in these few words, *I am resolved to have my marquisate*, set out a little time after for Chambery, where, till the expiration of the time prescribed, which was in the month of June, he employed himself in preparations for his defence. He would have had no occasion for them, if the plot of a woman, named Nicole Mignon, had succeeded. She had undertaken to poison the king,* and thought to have engaged the Count of Sois-

* By procuring her husband to be admitted into the number of the king's cooks, through the interest of the Count of Soissons, steward of the household. She was well known to all the princes of the blood, and to Henry himself, at Saint-Denis, where she kept one of the principal inns during the war. The Count of Soissons, to whom she had hinted that it would be his own fault if he was not one of the greatest princes in the world, suspecting that this woman had some bad design, caused Lomenie to conceal himself in a closet, which gave him an opportunity of discovering what means she intended to use. She was accused of practising sorcery, but was only a profligate woman, and somewhat disordered in her senses. (Chronologie Septennaire, anno 1600.)

sons (who, on all occasions, made known his discontent), in her design; but he conceived so great a horror at it, that he discovered her immediately: she confessed her crime, and was burnt.

Nothing remarkable, except the dispute between Messieurs du Perron and Du Plessis, happened during the above three months. Towards the latter end of the last, appeared a book*

* This book is entitled, "Instructions de la Sainte-Eucharistie," and attacks the mass by pretended arguments drawn from the fathers. As soon as it appeared in public, many Catholic divines exclaimed against the falsehood of a great number of the quotations it contained. This obliged Du Plessis to offer a kind of challenge, which those doctors prevailed upon the Bishop of Evreux to accept. After several letters, and steps taken on both sides to settle the method in which they were to proceed, and in which it appears that Du Plessis repented more than once of having gone so far, the king determined that there should be a public dispute between the two antagonists, wherein fifty of these passages were to be made good every day, till all the five hundred and fifty were gone through, which M. du Perron had excepted against. They met in the council-chamber at Fontainebleau, in the presence of the king, and commissioners appointed by him; those for the Catholics were the president De Thou, the advocate Pithou, and the Sieur Martin, reader and physician to his majesty; for the Calvinists, Fresne-Canaye and Casaubon. They met on Thursday, the 4th of May, at one o'clock in the afternoon. Of sixty-one passages which Du Perron sent to his antagonist, the latter was only prepared for nineteen of them, which he had selected from all the rest. "As to these," said he to the king, "I will lose my reputation or life if one of them be found false." However, he was convicted of an unfair representation in all those that were examined—and they could only go through nine of them. The chancellor then declared the opinions of all present, upon these nine articles severally: that in the first, which was from Scotus, and the second from Durandus, Du Plessis had taken the objection for the answer; in the third and fourth, from St. Chrysostom, and the fifth from Jerome, that he had omitted some of the most material words; in the sixth, that it was nowhere to be found in St. Cyril; on the seventh, which was taken from the Code, that it was indeed from Crinitus, but that Crinitus had falsified the text; as to the eighth, which included two propositions from St. Bernard, that Du Plessis ought to have separated them, or at least to have put an &c. between; with regard to the ninth, from Theodoret, that it was mutilated, and that the word idols was taken for images. This was the only conference that was held. Du Plessis-Mornay, being seized with an indisposition next day, went to Saumur some days after, without taking leave of the king. Frèsne-Canaye, one of the commissioners, and Saint-Marie du Mont, another eminent Protestant, were soon after this dispute, in which Henry himself sometimes spoke, converted to the Catholic faith. Du

by Du Plessis upon the Eucharist, which was looked upon by the Protestant party to be a masterpiece, and which I sent immediately to the Bishop of Evreux, who was at his diocese: the difference of religion had never been able to destroy that friendship and gratitude which this prelate had always entertained for me, nor that affection and reverence which I had ever preserved for his merit, his abilities, and even for his quality of being my bishop: the letters we wrote to each other were always in this strain. I was greatly surprised to read in that he wrote to me on account of the book I had sent him, that the errors and falsehoods it contained were so numerous, and followed one another so closely, that the whole book was justly censurable: "Not that I would accuse Monsieur du Plessis of insincerity," added the Bishop of Evreux, with equal moderation on his adversary's account as politeness on mine, "but I am sorry for his misfortune in having given credit to the confused collections of compilers, who have greatly deceived him." The remainder of his letter contained only compliments upon my late preferment to the post of master-general of the ordnance, and assurances of the pleasure it would give him "to see me," he said, "who commanded the cannons of France, obey the canons of the Church."

I never had so entirely good an opinion of Du Plessis as

Plessis pretended to prove, by the authority of St. Cyril, that it was not a custom among the primitive Christians to adore the cross, and yet he alleged the reproach which the Emperor Julian throws on them upon this very account. "It is not very likely," returned the king, "that Julian the Apostate would have reproached the Christians for adoring the cross, if they had not actually done so; otherwise he would have exposed himself to be laughed at." It was the king likewise who said, that at least an &c. ought to have been put in the passage from St. Bernard. A Catholic having observed to a Calvinist that Du Perron had already gained several passages of Du Plessis, "No matter," answered the Protestant, "provided that of Saumur be still left to him." (Matthieu, ib.) This fact, which is told in the same manner in several polemical treatises, is generally attested by all our good historians, and even by those who treat the Protestants most favourably: M. de Thou (liv. cxxiii. p. 843), who was himself one of the commissioners; Matthieu (ibid.; Chron. Sept. p. 123, &c.; Sup. au Journal d'Henri IV. tom. ii. p. 51, &c., vol. 8778 in the King's Library); Le Grain, and several others, who give us a relation of the whole dispute: so consequently no credit is to be given to the manner in which it is related in La Vie du Plessis, liv. ii. p. 269.

the rest of the party had, who were all prejudiced in his favour; and I should have been very unwilling to become security for the correctness of those large volumes, which he sent into the world in so quick a succession, for that on the Eucharist had been preceded by a treatise upon the Church. To write well, and upon these subjects especially, long reflection is necessary. This I told the Bishop of Evreux in my answer, but at the same time I observed to him, that I could not believe Du Plessis's book was, as he said, a series of errors. I told Du Perron, at the same time, that this would be the subject of a great dispute between them, for Du Plessis would not suffer his accusations to pass unanswered: this was all the serious part of my letter; the rest of it was filled with compliment, praises, and an invitation to visit my new dwelling, which do not deserve to be repeated here.*

What I had foreseen happened; except that I had expected only a private, not a public dispute. I would have interposed the king's authority, to hinder the two champions from proceeding so far, but Du Plessis was the most difficult† to be persuaded, and persisted in his resolution to measure his weapons with those of the Bishop of Evreux. Every one knows how the dispute was terminated. Du Plessis's defence was weak, and ended in his disgrace. The king, who would honour this challenge with his presence, gave a thousand praises to the wit and learning of Monsieur d'Evreux. "What do you think of your pope?" said Henry to me, during the debate (for Du Plessis was with the Protestants what the pope is amongst the Catholics): "I think, Sire," replied I, "that he is more a pope than your majesty imagines, for at this moment he gives the cardinal's hat to Monsieur d'Evreux. If our religion had not a better foundation than his legs, and his arms crossed" (for he then held them in that position), "I would quit it this instant."

It was upon this occasion that his majesty, in a letter to the Duke of Epernon, told him that the diocese of Evreux had vanquished that of Saumur; that this was one of the

* See those letters in the original. (Tom. ii. part i. p. 52.)

† "Sir," said Du Plessis to M. de Rosny, "my book is my own child, which I will defend, and I entreat you will suffer me to do so; do not you meddle with it, for you have not reared it." (Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 340.)

greatest advantages which, for a long time, had been obtained for the church of God; and that such a proceeding would draw more Protestants to the true church, than a course of violence for fifty years. This letter, the turn of which was no less singular than the choice Henry made of the Duke of Epernon to address it to, made as much noise as the dispute itself when it became public, which could not fail of happening when it was in such hands. Some said that the king wrote it to destroy the suspicions of his not being a sincere Catholic, which notwithstanding his conversion prevailed during his whole life, and gave room to the Jesuits to mention him disadvantageously in their letters to Rome: others imagined that this letter had a meaning which was not at first perceived, and maintained that the king had a view in it to persuade either Spain or the Protestants, that all efforts to induce the council of France to take violent and sanguinary methods with them would be useless.

The month of June arrived without the Duke of Savoy's taking any trouble to fulfil his engagement, and his majesty began to see clearly that he should obtain nothing but by force; but besides the persuasions of his courtiers, who all seemed to have sold their voices to the Duke of Savoy, this prince was then retarded by an obstacle far more powerful—his fondness for his new mistress, to whom he had given the title of Marchioness of Verneuil. He was no longer able to think of a separation, and (it is with some confusion that I mention it) after I had, by repeated importunities, prevailed upon him to take the route to Lyons, he deliberated whether he should not carry her with him, to which he was further incited by the flatterers about him.* She was now with child; and having the promise of marriage in her possession, the affair became of great consequence to Henry. Providence once more interposed in his favour: Madame de Verneuil was so frightened by the thunder during a storm, that she was delivered of a dead child. The king was informed of this accident at Moulins, whither he had advanced,

* She came to meet him at St. André de la Coste. Bassompierre, who was with Henry, says that the lovers quarrelled at their first meeting, but were soon reconciled; after which, this prince carried his mistress to Grenoble, where he continued with her seven or eight days, and afterwards to Chambéry. (Tom. i. p. 86, &c.)

and from whence he sent many a melancholy look to the place where he had left his mistress; but, restored to himself by his own reflections, he continued his route to Lyons, where his troops had orders to join him.

I intended to follow, as soon as I had settled all affairs relating to the government, and taken proper measures to secure the necessary supplies for the war, which I did not delay till the moment of execution. I had written to the receivers-general, that according to the king's order they were no longer to pay any bills drawn upon them, except those which were for the support of the frontier garrisons and the payment of the troops, because all others would be immediately discharged at the treasury, to which I ordered all their money to be directly carried. I likewise forbade those who paid rents to discharge any bills without a new order; I did this to keep them from paying, as they were accustomed, such notes as had been revoked, or created without money. I raised some militia, which I chose rather to incorporate in the old corps, than to compose new regiments of. I applied myself more particularly to the affairs of the ordnance. I sent orders to the lieutenants of the ordnance of Lyonnais and Dauphiny, and to the commissioners of that of Burgundy, Provence, and Languedoc, to collect all their best pieces, and to make a great number of carriages for cannon, with balls in proportion, and send them all with the powder and other ammunition to Lyons and Grenoble: and fearing lest my orders should not be punctually executed, I went myself to Lyons, and returned in three days.

I gave the like orders in all the other provinces, and brought carriers to Paris, whom I obliged to enter into an engagement before a notary, to carry, in fifteen days, three million three hundred thousand weight to Lyons, without explaining to them what kind of merchandise it was. They were greatly astonished when they found their loading was twenty cannon, six thousand balls, and other things belonging to the ordnance—not very portable. They alleged that such heavy pieces could not be comprehended in goods of carriage, but having threatened to seize their carts and horses, and they not being willing to lose the expenses they had been already at, resolved to do what was required of

them; and I had the satisfaction to see all these stores arrive safely in sixteen days at Lyons; whereas by the ordinary methods it could not have been done in less than two or three months, and at an enormous expense.

It was always doubted whether the king would seriously renew the war, till his majesty was seen to take his route towards the Alps. The Chancellor Belliévre, who had persisted in his endeavours to dissuade him from it, finding my advice prevailed, came to me with an intention to make me approve, if possible, of the reasons he had against it. I did not regard him as one of those persons with whom to enter into an explanation would have been useless. His sincerity appeared by the manner in which he spoke to me, and the reflections with which his mind seemed to me to be agitated: the condition France was in, for which a war of any kind whatever could not but be fatal; the king's honour, which was engaged to maintain a work so solid as that of the Peace of Vervins: the reproach of the infraction of that peace to which he exposed himself: the fear of bringing all the Duke of Savoy's allies upon him, to oppose whom he had an army, sufficiently provided with artillery, indeed, but consisting only of six or seven thousand foot, and twelve or fifteen hundred horse, and (for so Belliévre imagined) destitute of all necessary provisions. This was the sum of the chancellor's objections.

I do not think that in any passage of these Memoirs, or in the conduct of my whole life, especially since I have been called to the government of public affairs, there is anything that can lay me under the necessity of justifying myself with regard to too great a propensity for war. Should it appear to any one that on this occasion I acted in contradiction to my own maxims, I answer that, in reality, no maxim, however general it may be, can apply in all cases; and supposing war to be (as I really believe it is) at all times an evil, it is also certain that it is often a necessary and even an indispensable evil, when by it alone those claims can be supported, which it would be baseness to renounce; since it must be likewise confessed that generosity and mildness, two qualities absolutely necessary in sovereigns, when employed against the common rules of prudence, degenerate into weakness, and are looked upon as instances of bad conduct.

To this general reply I added the particular reasons for the present war. I showed the chancellor that he suffered himself to be unseasonably alarmed; the King of Spain was the only formidable ally whom it might be apprehended would join the Duke of Savoy; but it was to be considered that the reigning King of Spain was a young man, without experience or abilities for war, sufficiently employed in reducing his own subjects, and wholly guided by a minister as little inclined to war as himself, by the natural turn of his disposition, and a desire of keeping in his own hands the money which must be consumed by a war; and lastly, that he bore no good-will to the Duke of Savoy, and was convinced, as well as all Europe, that the king demanded only a restitution of what belonged to him; that this war would appear a mere difference between the king and the Duke of Savoy, or rather an effect of the intoxication of the latter, occasioned by an ill-grounded presumption, and the intrigues carried on in his favour in the council of France; and this presupposed, the success of the war depended upon its being pursued with expedition. I maintained to the chancellor that, with four thousand men this year, the king would gain greater advantages than with thirty thousand the next; but I did not neglect to prove to him that his majesty was not so unprovided as he imagined—at least, that he should not want for two things, which in the offices I held it depended upon me to furnish him with, namely, money and artillery. Belliévre was so far from being convinced by my arguments, that he left me with chagrin: the event will show who had the best reasons on his side.

The Duke of Savoy seeing that, contrary to his expectation,* a French army was ready to fall upon him, had recourse to his usual artifices, to prevent, at least, any act of hostility before the winter had begun. He sent deputy after deputy to his majesty at Lyons; sometimes he appeared willing to perform the agreements, sometimes he eluded them by specious reasons, and at other times he proposed advantageous projects for his majesty, and continued to impose

* He was encouraged, it is said, by certain idle predictions of astrologers, who gave out that in the month of August there would be no king in France: a thing that proved very true, says Pèrefixe, for at that time he was victorious in the heart of Savoy.

upon this prince so completely, that Henry believing he should be under no necessity to go farther than Lyons, stayed there much longer than he ought to have done. While I continued with the king in this city, I guarded him against the subtilties of the Duke of Savoy; but as soon as I left him to return to Paris, to hasten, as I have said, the preparations for war, he was so effectually deceived by the duke's pretended sincerity, that he wrote to me to suspend my cares, for everything was settled in an amicable manner.

In effect, the Duke of Savoy had agreed to all that was demanded of him; but this was a mere verbal agreement, and proposed that hostages should be given on each side,—a very proper management to delay the performance of his word, by the time that was necessarily taken up in naming these hostages, and interchanging them. I wrote to the king very freely my opinion of this pretended accommodation, and did not scruple to disobey his orders by forwarding the ammunition,* and came in person to Montargis, from whence I sent my baggage up the Loire, intending to ride post myself. Here it was that I received a letter from the king, which contained only these few words, "You have guessed truly; the Duke of Savoy has deceived us; come to me as soon as possible, and neglect nothing that may be necessary to make him sensible of his perfidy."

I was informed more particularly of all that had passed, by a letter from Villeroy. The king had sent for Roncas, from whom he had received so little satisfaction in the explanation he demanded of him, that, resolving to press him in such a manner as to leave him no subterfuge to have recourse to, the Savoyard deputy at length betrayed himself by his equivocations, which threw the king into so great a rage, that he would hear no more, and instantly took his route towards Chambéry; and it was from this place that the above-mentioned letter was dated. His majesty imagined that this city would surrender at his approach, and that he would not have the trouble of investing it; but in this he was mistaken.

This interval was employed by the king in soliciting his

* Matthieu, in the account which he gives of this expedition into Savoy, bestows, in several places, high encomiums on the Duke of Sully, and in a great measure ascribes to him the honours of this campaign. (Tom. ii. liv. ii. pp. 352, 361, 365, &c.)

marriage with the Princess Mary of Medicis; and the negotiation, which was highly pleasing to the pope, was of service to the king, in hindering his holiness from taking any part in the affairs of Savoy. D'Alincourt, whom his majesty had sent to Rome on this occasion, obtained all that he demanded; the marriage was determined on, and nothing now remained but to send some person to Florence, to solemnize it by proxy. Bellegarde earnestly solicited this honour; but all he could obtain was to be the bearer of the letter which assigned it to the Duke of Florence.

While this ceremony was performing in Florence,* Henry thought it necessary to appear wholly taken up with balls, plays, and entertainments; however, this did not hinder him from laying out no less assiduously the whole plan of the campaign; he ordered Lesdiguières to take an exact view of the Castle of Montmelian; and upon his report, that with twenty pieces of cannon, and twenty thousand discharges, it might be taken, he resolved to attack it. He likewise caused that of Bourg-en-Bresse to be reconnoitred by Vienne and Castanet, who were with me; and it being their opinion that the place might be carried, it was resolved to endeavour to take these two cities by petard, and in the same night; and in proper time besiege the two citadels in form. Marshal Biron, to whom his majesty committed this enterprise, gave the expedition of Montmelian to Créquy, and reserved that of Bourg to himself.

The king had, without knowing it, pitched upon him amongst all his general officers who was the least likely to secure the success of the enterprise. Biron was at this time deeply engaged with the Duke of Savoy; it is even thought that his treaty might have been at least sketched out. He sent word to Bouvens, the governor of Bourg, to be upon his guard, and informed him of the night and the hour when it was designed to surprise him. All this was afterwards proved. But what is singular enough, this treachery did not hinder the taking of Bourg, and on the same night that it had been resolved to attack it.

Bouvens communicated the advice he had received to the garrison and inhabitants of Bourg, exhorted them to defend themselves bravely, kindled great fires, doubled, nay trebled

* See the whole account of it in La Chronologie Septennaire, an. 1600.

the corps-de-garde, and, in a word, took all possible precautions on the night that he expected to be attacked, even to the standing sentinel himself. Every one impatiently expected the hour mentioned in the note, which in reality was to be that of the attack. However, it happened that Marshal Biron, who was himself at the head of his troops, either to give the governor more time, or to render the execution of the enterprise impossible, or perhaps by mere chance, took a road so far about, that, instead of midnight, it was break of day when he appeared before Bourg. He would then have persuaded his officers to defer till another time an attempt which, at such an hour, was very improper. But his opinion was so strongly opposed by Saint-Angel, Chambaret, Loustrange, Vienne, and particularly by Castenet, who had undertaken to fix the petard in open day, even though the bastions should be filled, and likewise by Boësse,* to whom his majesty had promised the government of it, that Biron, fearing lest he should incur the imputation of cowardice, and believing that the design would miscarry, was obliged to consent to it.

The affair turned out quite otherwise: the garrison and the citizens having been upon the watch till two, three, and even four o'clock, were of opinion that the enterprise was deferred, or that it was merely imaginary; and when day appeared, went to breakfast, and to refresh themselves with sleep, leaving the care of guarding the walls to some sentinels who, being oppressed with sleep, acquitted themselves very ill of their charge. Castenet, with three faithful soldiers whom I had given him, advanced as far as the counterscarp, each with a petard in his hand, followed by twelve men well armed, and of tried bravery: the sentinel cried, "Who goes there?" Castenet, whom I had instructed, answered, that they were friends of the city, who were come to advertise the governor that some troops had appeared at a distance of two thousand paces, and were gone back: he added, that he had much more to say to M. Bouvens from the Duke of Savoy, and desired the soldier to go and inform him of it, that the gate might be opened. The sentinel quitting his post to go to the governor's house, Castenet, without loss of

* Peter d'Escodaca de Boësse.

time, advanced to the gate and fixed his petard, which carried off the drawbridge, and made a breach, through which, the ditches not being very deep, twelve men, by the help of short ladders, entered immediately, and after them the whole army. All this was executed with such rapidity, that the city was filled in a moment with our men, and Bouvens had only time enough to retire precipitately, with his garrison, into the citadel.

The town of Montmelian* was taken in the same manner; and Chambéry, by his majesty's orders, was invested: the citizens, full of terror, did not think of defending the town, but fortified themselves in the castle, where at first they made a show of resistance; however, they capitulated the next day, being intimidated by a battery of eight pieces of cannon, the fire of which they durst not stand. By the order his majesty caused to be observed, there was not the least violence committed. The French ladies, who followed their husbands in this expedition, settled at Chambéry; and the next day after the reduction of it, my wife gave a ball to the principal ladies of the town, where all appeared as gay as if it had not changed its master.

After this, the king sent me to Lyons, to give orders for the furnishing and conveyance of the ordnance; and commanded me to visit, in this journey, the citadels of St. Catherine, Seissel, Pierre-Châtel, L'Écluse, and other fortresses of Bresse, particularly the castle of Bourg; he ordered me likewise to provide a quantity of gabions, three feet in height and nine in width; upon which I answered him, that such gabions were only proper to make an enclosure for sheep newly bought up in the country. The king, on his side, in the mean time, went to possess himself of Conflans, Miolens, Montiers, St. Jacome, St. John de Morienne, and St. Michael: not one of these places held out against the cannon. The taking of Miolens restored liberty to a man who had been detained in the prisons there fifteen years; Feugères brought him to me on account of the singularity of a prediction that had been made him upon the duration of his cap-

* Consult likewise, on all these military expeditions, De Thou, Matthieu, and La Chronologie Septennaire, an. 1600, in which Sully is mentioned with great honour. See likewise tom. i. des Mem. de Bassompierre.

tivity, and the person by whom he should be delivered; which was found to be exactly fulfilled.

I left Lyons to execute the commission his majesty had given me. I reached Villars* by dinner-time, and Bourg in the evening, where I was received and treated with great politeness by Marshal Biron. When he found that I came to take a view of the citadel, he used his utmost endeavours to dissuade me from it; representing to me that I exposed myself to evident danger. He was certainly right: the enterprise was full of hazard; but it was because this marshal, having failed in his attempt to hinder me from executing my design, had given the enemy (for I cannot think otherwise) such exact information, that wherever I presented myself I found a battery against me. Notwithstanding this, I continued there night and day, till I had finished all my observations.

Biron, who probably had expected that I would pay dear for my curiosity, finding that I had escaped, laid other snares for me: on the day that I was to leave Bourg and return to Lyons I received advice that a party of the enemy, consisting of two hundred men, had arrived at a castle near the place where I was to lodge that night. I took notice of it to Biron, who now showed none of that obliging solicitude for my safety which he had discovered before, but treated the information as a jest, which raised my suspicions. I asked him for an escort of soldiers, which he excused himself from granting, telling me that he would commit this care to his own guards; but he privately ordered them to return, and leave me at Villars, which they did, notwithstanding my entreaties to the contrary, as soon as I alighted at Villars, and my mules were unloaded. The design of this proceeding appeared now but too plain. I ordered my mules to be reloaded, and travelled four leagues farther, nor stopped till I came to Vîmy, where I thought myself in safety. My suspicions that Biron had undertaken to deliver me up to the Duke of Savoy were changed to a certainty, when I learned that three hours after I had left Villars the two hundred men came and stormed the house I had been at, and seemed very much concerned that they had missed their object.

* In the Upper Bresse.

A courier from his majesty waited for me at Lyons; his business was to get a train of artillery to force Conflans, the only one of those little towns the king had attacked that made any resistance, and which surrendered immediately on the approach of the cannon. The king, whom I went to visit at Saint-Pierre d'Albigny, told me that he was afraid he should not accomplish so easily his designs upon Charbonnières and the Castle of Montmelian; and seemed to make some difficulty about undertaking those sieges at the approach of winter. I assured his majesty that instead of five months (for so long he imagined the siege of Montmelian would last) it might be ended in so many weeks, provided during that time the works were carried on with vigour. The king gave no credit to what I said on this head, and after I had left him he told my brother and La Varenne that my enemies would take advantage of my presumptuous manner of speaking. However, the attention with which I had examined the weak parts of this castle, which had apparently escaped the observation of others, convinced me that I had not advanced anything lightly.

The next day the king taking a journey to Grenoble, left the command of the army in his absence to me. During this time I no longer employed myself in examining Montmelian, under the cannon of which we were, but in forming the plan of the outworks, and of the disposition of those batteries with which I expected to carry the fort. I went afterwards to the king at Grenoble, who had passed his time in deliberating with his council upon this enterprise, which he had absolutely forbidden me to begin in his absence. I insisted again upon the reasonableness of undertaking it, and again found the same opposition. I know not whether it was through enmity to me or attachment to the Duke of Savoy that the Count of Soissons, the Duke of Epernon, La Guiche, and many others, appeared so unreasonable: amongst all the councillors only Messieurs de Lesdiguières and De Créquy were of my opinion. I laid the plan I had just finished upon the table, and went out, saying, that while they deliberated whether Montmelian should be attacked, I would go and put myself in readiness to take it; and in the mean time would fall upon Charbonnières, that the example

of this fort, for the taking of which I requested only eight days, might teach them what to expect from Montmelian.

Accordingly I laid siege to Charbonnières, where I suffered incredible fatigues: the first difficulty was to bring the cannon to bear on the place; the only road that led to it was extremely narrow, bordered on one side by the river Arc, of which the bank was all along perpendicularly steep, and on the other by impracticable rocks. They could with difficulty travel a league a day, because they were every moment obliged to unharness the cannon, one of the wheels almost always running over the side of the precipice. We were certain at least of favourable weather; for in this climate it is generally fair during the autumn; however, there now fell such violent rains that the road was all under water, and the eight days, which I had thought sufficient for taking the place, had been almost wholly consumed in bringing up the carriages. This was my excuse in the council against the malicious remark which the Count of Soissons and others did not fail to make upon the promise I had given. The king, who at that moment looked at me attentively, and perceiving that my face was very red, and all overspread with pimples, ran to me, and unbuttoning my clothes, examined my neck and breast, exclaiming, "Ah! my friend, you are very ill." He sent immediately for Du Laurens,* who, after examining the pimples, said, that by bleeding and taking a little care of myself they would be removed. I had, indeed, overheated myself with labour, and, when in a violent perspiration, had got wet through to my skin with the rain, without perceiving it. I was bled as soon as I got to my quarters, which were at Semoy: the king had his at Rochette, from whence he sent Thermes the next day to know how I was, and was greatly surprised to hear that his messenger had found me on horseback, visiting my batteries.

Before I erected them I was willing to take a more exact view of the place, beginning with Aiguebelle, the little town at the foot of the fort. It seemed to me that I was known everywhere, and that there was a general conspiracy against me; for as often as I appeared in view a volley was dis-

* André Du Laurens, the king's physician.

charged upon me. The rock upon which Charbonnières is situated appearing inaccessible on all sides, and not to be taken by the cannon, I was greatly afflicted: however, on examining it more narrowly, I thought that I had found out a part where what seemed on the outside a natural rock might probably be a place filled up with earth covered with green turf. I repressed the satisfaction this discovery gave me till the night afforded me an opportunity of being convinced of it. I approached very near the wall, being favoured by the darkness of the night, and was transported with joy when, upon trying the ground with my pike, I found that it went down as I desired, and that this bastion was such as I had believed it to be. I was no longer in doubt on what side I should batter the fort, and no difficulty now remained but to find out some place proper for erecting these batteries, for Charbonnières is, indeed, surrounded with mountains which command the town, but so steep that a man can hardly ascend them on foot. I began again to creep along these mountains, which, in reality, had a terrible appearance, and all seemed wholly inaccessible to the cannon except one, upon the declivity of which I found a road, where it was not impossible but some pieces of cannon might be heaved up by main strength. Unfortunately the access to this road was by another, which passed so near the fort that they might pelt us from thence with stones. This was another obstacle, which did not, however, discourage me in my attempt. I chose out two hundred French and as many Swiss, to each of whom I promised a crown, provided they could, by this road, bring up six cannon, that I gave them, and mount them on an eminence which I pointed out to them. I pitched upon a very dark night for this work, recommending to them particularly to make as little noise as possible; and, to prevent the besieged from observing it, caused horses and carmen to advance in the opposite roads, whose cries and the smacking of their whips drew all the enemy's fire to that side, but with no effect, for these carts were covered in their march by trees, gabions, and even by the walls; while my men that were employed in forcing up the cannon escaped the notice of the besieged, who were deafened with the noise of their own guns. I appointed La Vallée,* lieutenant of

* Michael de la Vallée Piquemouche, governor of Comper.

the ordnance in Brittany, and other officers to superintend and encourage my men in this uncommon method of carriage. It rained so violently that La Vallée and the rest of the officers left their post to go to supper, and the soldiers their cannon when they were got about half-way. This was what I had expected; and, having taken that road, I met them in their retreat, and gave them a severe reprimand, threatening them that they should have no pay for three months, and brought them all back that instant to their task, which they resumed, and the cannon was again put in motion; I did not quit them till I saw them out of danger, which did not happen without receiving some check: their delay at length occasioned their being discovered, and six were killed and eight wounded.

I got back to my quarters while it was yet dark, soaked through with the rain, and so disguised with dirt that I was not to be known; but full of joy that my six pieces of cannon were out of danger, though not yet upon the top of the rocks. I slept an hour, and breakfasted, and returning to my work, met La Vallée, who, not knowing what I had done, began to pride himself upon the performance of the night. The reproaches I loaded him with, while I contradicted what he said, ought to have covered him with confusion; but he was the most undaunted liar I ever knew. "What! you have been there then?" said he, without the smallest discomposure: "well, I sincerely confess I am a fool." "You are so, indeed," replied I, "and something worse; but avoid such a behaviour for the future, and repair your fault." It was not doubted but the besieged would endeavour to make themselves amends for their being surprised; which did not hinder the cannon, by the mere force of my men's labour, without any assistance from the horses, from being placed upon the rock at nine o'clock, where, during that time, I had made provision of gabions, planks, and everything that was necessary for constructing platforms. But, when the gabions came to be filled, no earth was to be found within half a league of the place: all that could be got in this stubborn soil was stony, and could not be used for making port-holes and platforms, without running the danger of laming all who were employed in the work. The officers, for want of their usual defence, seeing themselves exposed to the whole fire of the place, came in great consternation to acquaint me with the condi-

tion they were in. I told them, without any appearance of emotion, that they should begin directly the palisade I had ordered them to erect along the edges of the rocks, making it very high and thick, to deprive the enemy of the sight at least of the cannon, which otherwise they would be able to dismount; and this was performed immediately, these mountains being almost all covered with wood. To supply the rest, I ordered the carpenters and pioneers of the army to cut down two hundred large beech-trees, which were cleaved into billets, some round, to fill up the gabions, others square, to make a secure lodgment for the six pieces of cannon; and the better to conceal their last situation from the enemy, to which the branches of the palisade greatly contributed, I contrived that there should be on each side several openings filled with baskets of earth, upon which the enemy made a continual fire, without knowing at what part of the palisade the artillery was placed till the moment when we were prepared to dismount the battery of the fort and throw down the palisade by which our cannon had been concealed. At two o'clock in the afternoon this work was completed; and about an hour afterwards his majesty came to visit it, and, embracing me, assured me of the satisfaction it gave him. He saw no obstacle that should hinder us from beginning to batter the place. I represented to him that it was still necessary to delude the besieged till night; he submitted to my opinion, but the Count of Soissons, d'Epernon, La Guiche, and Villeroy, who attended him, making observation that his cannon were pointed against a rock, on which it would be useless to lose more time, Henry came to me, and said that he would have them fire, that instant, some volleys upon the opposite ravelin. I again contested this point with him, and perhaps with rather too much heat; for it gave me great uneasiness to see a work that had cost me so much labour likely to be ruined by too much precipitation. My resistance put the king into a passion, and he again, and in a very absolute manner, commanded me to obey him, even adding, that I forgot he was the master. "Yes, Sire," replied I, immediately, "you are the master, and shall be obeyed, though at the expense of ruining everything." I caused the palisade to be thrown down, and gave orders that they should fire, but I would not

be a witness to it, and withdrew in great discontent. As the guns were not aimed, everybody took upon him to direct them according to his own mind, but no one hit the right place. After a hundred ineffectual discharges, the king sent La Guesle for me, to complain to me of the faults of my batteries. I replied, that I entreated his majesty would excuse me, for it being now sunset, it was no longer time to undertake anything. His majesty ordered the firing to cease, and every one withdrawing, I came and lay in the midst of my batteries, which I caused to be completed during the remainder of the night, notwithstanding the rain, which fell in great abundance. The besieged, on their side, laboured as hard, and were not without some apprehensions that they should find the place to which they gave the most attention defective: I judged so by the fires and torches which I saw lighted up in the fort, and contented myself with interrupting their security by firing some discharges from time to time.

At the break of day there arose so thick a fog that, at six o'clock, the fort could not be seen: this unlucky accident gave me great uneasiness, because all my batteries were ready, and I had boasted overnight that I would take Charbonnières the next day. I fancied, however, that the agitation of the air which the discharge of the cannon would occasion might possibly disperse the fog, and therefore caused some volleys to be fired. Either by chance, or by a natural effect, that which I had jestingly proposed succeeded almost beyond my hopes. No sooner had the rest of the artillery answered the cannon from the top of the mountain than the fog wholly disappeared. The besieged had been all night employed in erecting a battery of four pieces of cannon over against my six, which the imprudence committed the day before had discovered to them, and which, at that instant, they endeavoured to dismount. I found that there was no time to be given them, and caused a piece to be pointed directly opposite to their portholes, which rendered two of their four cannon useless, killed one gunner, and wounded two others: but this did not happen till after their discharge had killed on our side six gunners and two pioneers, and at length made our pieces useless, till they were dislodged from thence.

The king, on hearing the noise, ran thither, at nine o'clock, and ordered his dinner to be brought to a place which I had contrived in such a manner that he might see everything that passed without danger: this was an enclosure made with the largest trees, laid at their length one upon another, in the form of a rampart. I showed his majesty the bodies of those who had been just killed, and made him sensible that this was the consequence of the bad counsel that was followed the day before. I did not say this without a design, perceiving that the same persons continued still to find fault with my work, and to prejudice his majesty against me. I did not suffer myself to be at all discomposed with their observations, and told them haughtily, that, not having yet eaten anything, though I had laboured hard all night, I would leave the place free to any of them that were desirous of playing the master-general of the ordnance, but that, at my return, if they did not permit me to order my batteries as I pleased, I would abandon them entirely. My table, as master-general, consisted of forty covers, and was placed under a kind of half-arch formed by nature in the rock, and hung with ivy. The king sent me a large trout pie, which was sent him from Geneva. My dinner was soon over, and I went again to entreat his majesty that he would suffer me to perform the duties of my employment alone, and renewed my promises that I would make him master of Charbonnières that day. The king replied, that he would be contented if it were taken in three days; upon which La Guesle said, that, if he were in the place, he should know how to hinder it from being taken in a month. "Go there, then," said I to them all, fatigued with their impertinence, "and if I do not hang you all to-day, let me pass for a boaster."

The king then withdrew into his enclosure, and delivered me from the importunate presence of his courtiers for three hours, which he passed in waiting for his dinner, at his table, and in surveying the park of artillery. At the end of this time I saw him come back with the Count of Soissons, to whom he said, loud enough for me to hear, "This place will not be taken to-day." The count answered, with great complaisance, that his majesty, who had more knowledge of war than any other person whatever, ought to make use of his authority to force me to obey, instead of wasting time in

battering a rock, which could not be hurt by the cannon: that instant I had my revenge. The king arrived just at the time that the enemy beat a parley, and the lieutenant of the place came out to treat with me; I entreated his majesty to take no part in the capitulation; and told the lieutenant that he might go back again, for I was resolved that the garrison should surrender at discretion. The lieutenant returned with an affected boldness, saying that there were still two hundred men in the fort who were able to hold it eight days longer. Henry withdrew, leaving Lesdiguières and Villeroy with me, who persuaded me to accept of the conditions offered by the besieged. Lesdiguières even carried me towards the fort, to show me that the enemy was not reduced to extremity. I stopped him when he came within two or three hundred paces of the curtain, telling him, that it would be rashness to expose himself to the mouth of the cannon of the fort; and I withdrew to a rock a hundred paces distant, which served me as a shelter, while these gentlemen very unseasonably rallied me for my caution: but they soon changed their tone when a terrible fire obliged them to follow me.

The lieutenant of the fort returned a second time, but with proposals differing little from the former. I sent him back without hearing him; upon which Villeroy said, that if the city failed of being taken that day, he could not dispense with himself from acquainting the king that it was owing wholly to me. I pretended not to hear him; and, sending the besieged my final determination in writing, ordered the artillery again to play: the second discharge set fire to the powder of the besieged, and killed twenty or twenty-five of their men, and six or seven women; at the third, the little ravelin fell down entirely, and they could no longer bring any assistance to the breach, because the cannon, sweeping along a low path that led to it, at every fire destroyed some of their best soldiers. This made them resolve to beat a parley once more, which I pretended not to hear, although I saw their drummer carried up in the air to the height of twelve feet, by a cannon-ball which entered the ground where he stood, but did him no other hurt. The besieged then held up a pike, with a flag fastened to the top, crying out that they surrendered, and implored us to cease firing: but

the artillery continued to play, till the enemy, holding out their hands over the breach to our soldiers, I was afraid some French would be killed amongst them. I then mounted my horse and entered the city in full gallop: it was lawful to treat it as one carried by assault; but that heart must have been wholly impenetrable to compassion, which could not be softened by a sight so truly pitiable as now presented itself: the women, the wounded, and those who were scorched by the fire, came and threw themselves at my feet. I never in any other place beheld the sex so lovely as in this city, nor so finished a beauty as one woman in particular, who came to implore my mercy: instead of executing my threat, to hang all the inhabitants, I gave the same conditions I had offered at first, and caused the garrison to be conducted to a place of security which I had appointed for them.

Notwithstanding this success with Charbonnières, I still found great opposition in the council to my proposal of attacking the castle of Montmelian. The debate ran very high: "Take care what you do," said his majesty to me, prejudiced by the great number that disapproved of the attempt, "for if we are obliged to raise the siege, every one will exclaim against you, and I possibly shall be amongst the first." They were not sensible at that time what a strong, well-conducted train of artillery was able to do at a siege: what had happened at Charbonnières had so confirmed me in my opinion on this head, that I did not scruple to engage that I would carry Montmelian in five weeks, as I had already promised in a former council; I stipulated only for one condition, which his majesty could not deny me, because he had accepted it without its being named, and this was, that he should not be present at the siege, which I foresaw would be very bloody. I produced a plan of the fortress, and of the attack: and every one agreeing that I should make the attempt, I laid siege to the castle of Montmelian.

This castle is situated on a rock almost as hard as that of Charbonnières, and so high, that it commands the whole country about it; steep and inaccessible on every side except that next the city, where the ascent is less difficult, but on which, to make amends, there runs a ditch, cut in the rock itself, and which must have been done with infinite labour with the point of a sharp chisel; besides which, there were

three bastions, that could neither be sapped nor undermined, their foundations being of rock, itself almost impenetrable, and above a toise and a half deep. The country is interspersed with several mountains, but some are so distant that they appeared to be absolutely out of the reach of cannon, and the rocks that are nearest are so steep, so pointed at the top, and so rugged and bare, that, far from its appearing possible to carry up and make use of cannon, it was difficult to believe that a man could climb up. The castle was then provided with thirty pieces of cannon, with ammunition for eight thousand volleys at least, a proportionable garrison, and provision in great abundance.

The first thought that occurred to my mind, and supported it against obstacles in appearance insurmountable, was, that, however solid and continued the rock seemed to be, upon which, or rather in which, the bastions were raised, it was possible it might not be all of equal hardness; and that if one part of it only was in the slightest degree weaker than the rest, the artillery I had would secure me the means of opening a passage through it. In order to be convinced, I began to open the trenches before the bastion called Mauvoisin, for otherwise it would have been impossible to have approached near enough to discern whether this whole mass was an entire rock, cut with a chisel; but the rock which we found even with the ground hindered us from carrying on the trenches. I was obliged to have recourse to artifice; and one very dark night caused a hut to be built with clay, and thatched over, very near this bastion, and so low that it could not be thrown down by the cannon; it was shot through and through with the small arms as soon as the day discovered it to the besieged; but it was not overturned, and none of our men were in it. I suffered the enemy to discharge their rage for some days upon this hut, till of themselves they should cease to fire; which at length they did, supposing it had been built there to make them spend their powder in vain. When I found the besieged neglected it, I entered it in the night, taking no other arms with me but a buckler, with which, upon occasion, I could entirely cover my body against the fire. From this hut I carefully examined the whole bastion, at the bottom of which I perceived a light, from whence I concluded it was hollow, and conse-

quently that it was not an entire rock, which could not have been cut into so deep. Without doubt the besieged were then making some repairs there. The day beginning to appear, I perceived likewise that the flank was uncovered; and this was proof that it was not the solid rock which formed either; and that this flank presented itself naked and easy to be pierced with the cannon. I was now satisfied, and had no other care but how to get out safely, which in broad day could not be done without difficulty, the hut not being above a hundred paces distant from the parapet, which was lined with soldiers, and I had above two hundred to go before I could shelter myself: I seized that moment when the guards being relieved, the soldiers began to be careless, and leaving my buckler in the hut, I began to run as fast as I was able; four sentinels perceiving me, cried out, and fired upon me at the same time; their musket-shot whistled about my ears and covered me with gravel and flint-stones, but did not wound me; and before the other soldiers were ready, I had gained the nearest lodgment.

I had at first resolved to place a battery of cannon on an eminence on the side of the Isère, where the guns might be carried up more easily by the help of steps cut out; but having observed, on the opposite side of the water, another eminence which faced the citadel, and which had this advantage, that from thence might be seen the road which led to the wells of the castle, and to the magazine, the entrance of the tower, and the guard-house, I preferred this last, and considered upon the means to carry up six pieces of cannon. This eminence was perpendicular on all sides but one, and even this side of the ascent was a league about: but this was not the greatest difficulty; to plant them there we must level rocks of such hardness, that most of the officers thought the enterprise ridiculous.

The enemy were not of the same opinion: as soon as they found that we had undertaken to make a lodgment upon the edge of the rock, they pointed six pieces of cannon there likewise, and kept up a continual fire: one day the first volley was discharged when I was giving directions about the works with my bâton in my hand, and dressed in a green coat laced with gold, and a plume of green and white feathers upon my head: I observed that this shot had passed

a good deal above my head, and that which followed it as much below: perceiving that they were going to fire a third time, I said to Lesine, Maignan, and Feugères, that the next would be between both, and that, without doubt, the besieged having perceived me would take an exact aim. I retired two or three steps behind a shelving part of the rock, from whence I held my pike in one hand, fixed in the place where I had stood myself; one ball threw down the pike, the others killed three pioneers and two gunners, and broke some glasses and bottles that had been brought for a refreshment, and were placed in a hole of the rock. This accident was related to his majesty, as an instance of rashness in me; and he wrote to me immediately, that my person being still more necessary to him for the business of the state than war, he desired that I would not act like a mere soldier of fortune, who had a reputation to make; and that he would recal me, if I disobeyed this command.

Henry could not resist the desire he had to see the disposition of this siege, and wrote to me a second time, desiring I would dispense with the promise he had given me to the contrary, assuring me that he would go to those places only that I should appoint, and with no other attendants than the Count of Soissons, D'Epernon, Bellegarde, and myself. I entreated him at least to disguise himself in an ordinary cloak: and, above all, to shun, at the expense of going half a league about, a certain field, strewed over with flint-stones, opposite to which the besieged continually kept a party of thirty or forty soldiers, armed with muskets; and ten or twelve pieces of cannon were pointed there, because they knew that our men were constantly passing through this field, to go to the new battery raised upon the rock. I did not doubt but that he would have complied with this request; but when he was upon the spot, he could not resolve to use this precaution; and my entreaties being ineffectual, we marched all five in a file. Some musket-shot we were exposed to at first made two or three of the company look pale; but it was much worse when we entered the field; there was at once so terrible a discharge of the heavy cannon and small-shot, that we were in an instant all covered with earth, and our skin scratched with a shower of the little flint-stones. Henry making the sign of the cross, "It is

now," said I, "that I acknowledge you to be a good Catholic." "Let us go," said he; "this is a bad place." We doubled our pace, esteeming it a singular piece of good fortune that none of us were killed, or at least lamed. No one thought of returning the same way, but took the road from the mountains, where I caused horses to be brought for the company.

The king was a little ashamed of his unnecessary rashness, which was the cause that, some days afterwards, when I sent him notice that all my batteries were finished, his majesty, who was then returned to the Tarantaise, having an inclination to see them, ordered me to make a truce for some hours with the governor. The king's curiosity being satisfied, I was seized with an inclination to exert the prerogative of a master-general exercising his office in the royal presence; but as this could not be done without a discharge of the artillery, which would have been considered as an infraction of the truce, which was not yet expired, to induce the besieged to break it I ordered some commissaries to send certain ammunition to the battery upon the rock, which they had an occasion for there. The enemy, who had not lost any part of their fierceness, and probably repented of having granted the truce, cried out that it was violated, and that they were going to fire. Accordingly, they fired twelve or fifteen cannon-shot. I had given my men orders, in case this happened, to hold themselves in readiness to answer them immediately by a general discharge. This was the first, and afforded matter for serious reflection to the besieged when they saw their tower battered by fifty cannon: they were the first to demand a continuation of the truce; especially when a second discharge succeeded so rapidly. From that moment they began to alter their opinion that the citadel was impregnable, and privately sought out ways to procure an honourable accommodation.

Two women were by chance the first movers* of this arrangement. Madame de Brandis, wife to the governor of Montmelian, and then with him in the castle, amused herself with making little glass toys and pieces of cabinet-work.

* The historian who has given us the Life of the Duke of Epernon, ascribes to him the honour of taking Montmelian.

My wife being then in the town, she sent her a pair of earrings and two chains of exquisite workmanship. Madame de Rosny, in return, sent her wine and venison, and desired to know if it was not possible for them to see each other: they obtained permission for it, and passed three afternoons together with such familiarity, that at length they began to consider how Montmelian might be surrendered with honour. Each acquainted her husband with the subject of their conversations, and we were so far from opposing them, that they were authorised to go on, but concealed from one another that they acted by permission. Madame de Brandis had an indisposition that made the country air necessary for her. Her husband thought he could procure this favour through the interposition of my wife; and she made so reasonable a representation to him of the condition to which he would be soon reduced, without being able to obtain honourable terms afterwards, that he consented to treat with me, and sent me a deputation for that purpose: I despatched notice of it to the king, who proposed it to his council; and it was there resolved that a month should be granted to the governor, after which, if he was not relieved, the place should be surrendered. I was very sure that it could not hold out so long, and that it was relying too much on the doubtful sincerity of an enemy to grant such conditions. I gave my opinion freely, but it was to no purpose to oppose a resolution in which envy had as great a share as fear.

The king did not begin to repent of having followed the counsels of Marshal Biron and D'Epernon rather than mine, till, a little while before the expiration of the time granted to the besieged, a report was spread, that an army of twenty-five thousand men was coming over the Alps to their assistance. The king acquainted me with the perplexity into which this news threw him: he was determined to meet the enemy and fight them; but he was sensible of the danger he ran, in leaving behind him such a fortress as Montmelian. He asked me if by some means or other there was not a possibility of putting him in possession of it before that time. Difficult as it appeared, it was nevertheless accomplished, and in the following manner.

Ever since the suspension of arms, the Count of Brandis suffered all strangers to enter his castle who brought pro-

visions and necessaries which the wounded, and even Madame de Brandis herself, had occasion for. As there was only one gate to enter by, the crowd was often so great that some blows passed between them; for which the governor could not chastise them, because there were a great many Frenchmen amongst them; he therefore entreated me to apply a remedy to this inconvenience; and I now believed that I had found the opportunity I sought for. I placed a guard of fifty chosen men at the gate of the castle, commanded by officers, who, being informed of my design, accustomed the guards of the castle to see them enter it, at first three or four only in number, afterwards more, till at length, the garrison not daring any longer either to hinder, or fire upon them, they found themselves almost masters of the castle itself, without giving them any assistance, but, on the contrary, instead of lessening the disorder, these French did all they could to increase it.

Brandis imputed all to the licentiousness of the soldiers, and complained of it to me. I told him, that he might fall upon all those strangers, whom I supposed to be country people. He replied, that he would have done so, but for the great number of my soldiers that were amongst them; and that rather than do them any violence, although without any intention to break the conditions, he chose to confide to me the care of putting an end to the disorder. I seemed to yield to this expedient (which was what I most ardently wished) only to restore order and quiet, and told the governor that I could easily accomplish it, if I had a guard within equal to that without: he consented to it, and I caused fifty soldiers to enter; but these were not all; thirty had got in before, and a much greater number had slipped in with them; I came thither myself likewise, with all my train: and from that time our party was so strong, that the fort and part of the tower was at our disposal.

Brandis now discovered the fault he had committed, but could repair it no otherwise than by showing himself still more generous: he came to me and told me that he consented I should take possession of the tower, and that he gave it up wholly upon the security of my word. I resolved not to abuse his confidence, and faithfully observed all the articles. I supped and lay in the tower that night; and the next day after that in which I had received this commission

from the king, I went to tell him, that, without having anything to fear from Montmelian, he might march to meet his enemies, which he did in good order, and at the head of his army; but the information he had received was found to be false.

The garrison of Montmelian marched out after the month was elapsed, and yielded the place to his majesty, who commanded me to settle Créquy there with his company. The garrison was reinforced, and provided with great plenty of ammunition of all kinds. I would have persuaded the king to dismantle this place, as it must undoubtedly be restored to the Duke of Savoy in case of a peace; and to do the same with all other conquered fortresses: but the advice of the courtiers, who all seemed to be in the pay of the duke, saved Montmelian from the treatment that good policy required.

The mystery of this conduct with regard to Montmelian, as well as many other things, was explained two years afterwards, by the discovery of some letters of Marshal Biron in cipher: he told the Duke of Savoy, to whom they were addressed, that he had obtained a month for the garrison of Montmelian, to give him time to raise the siege; that he had nothing to expect from his friends, unless he made an effort to save this place, which could hold out three months longer; and assured him that the reduction of it would give him great concern. In the letter he wrote to this prince after the castle was taken, he tells him that his negligence in not succouring it had silenced the French lords in his party, who would have declared against the king, if, by advancing to join them, he had put it in their power to do so with safety. Notwithstanding the caution he observed in not writing their names, they were all so well described that it was not difficult to know them. The silence I keep with regard to these names, is only in favour of some whom the public perhaps has not suspected.

Montmelian had not yet surrendered, when it was reported in the French army that Cardinal Aldobrandin, the pope's nephew and legate, was on his way to his majesty, to treat concerning a peace and his marriage. The king having appointed me to go and receive his eminence with all imaginable honours, I advanced to meet him with a body of three thousand foot, and five hundred troopers, all spruce fellows.

It was not difficult for him to perceive that it was the master-general of the ordnance who waited for him, by the manner in which he was received at his approach to Montmelian, the truce affording me an opportunity to make use of the artillery of the place as if it had been my own. Upon this occasion I joined them together, to pay him the greater honour: the signal was given by a white flag raised on the battery of the rock: mine began after a great fire of the small-shot, and was answered by that of the castle, in such a manner that, both having time to load again, this double discharge of a hundred and seventy cannon, performed with the utmost regularity, and multiplied by the echoes formed amidst the mountains, had the noblest effect imaginable, though not in the legate's opinion, I believe, who was more frightened than gratified by an honour so magnificently dreadful, believing all the mountains around him were about to fall down, and he had several times recourse to the sign of the cross.

I carried the cardinal to dinner at Notre Dame de Miens, and forewarned him of two things relating to the business he mentioned to me: one was, that he should give no credit to any of those persons who would make a boast to him of their interest with his majesty; the other, that if they promised him to get all the places taken from the Duke of Savoy restored without being demolished, he should believe them still less, for he might be assured this would never happen. After this caution, I resigned him freely to those sent by his majesty to fetch him, and continued my hostilities, by besieging the citadels of Bourg and Fort St. Catherine.

The latter was attacked before the other, at the entreaty of the citizens of Geneva, whom the king was glad of an opportunity to oblige. Upon our arrival at this fort, which is situated on a rising ground, in an open plain, of which it seems to be the centre, Marshal Biron, who by chance was near me, asked me to go that instant, on horseback, as we were, and reconnoitre the place with him. I told him that we were too gaily dressed, and wore too many plumes, to examine it in open day: for the marshal was mounted on a white horse, and wore a large plume of feathers of the same colour. "No, no," said he, "you need not be under any apprehension: morbleu! they will not dare to fire upon us." "Let us go

then," replied I, "if you will, for if it rain upon me it will sprinkle upon you." Accordingly, we came within two hundred paces of the fort, and observed it a long time, while they only fired twelve or fifteen volleys of small-shot, and I believe in the air, although we were about twenty horse, which surprised me greatly. "Certainly, sir," said I to the marshal, "there is no one within, or they are asleep, or afraid of us." The king could with difficulty believe this, because being there himself the day before, with six horse only, they fired repeated volleys at his approach; and when I returned the next morning at the break of day, on foot, and with no other company than Erard and Feugères, I was received with so great a noise of the artillery, that the king sent Montespan thither, believing it was a sally. "Who are these fellows aiming at?" said Montespan to me, finding nobody in sight. "At me, I believe," replied I, "but I have seen all that I wanted to see." However, I guessed soon after the cause of the respect they had shown Marshal Biron. I perceived that the flank of the bastions of St. Catherine were so bad that great part of them had fallen down, and that the ditch was in no better condition. I assured his majesty, that as soon as the trenches were carried to the extremity of the ditch the place would surrender. In effect, the besieged, who were likewise in want of everything, demanded to capitulate, if they were not succoured in six days.

After I had opened the trench, I desired leave from the king to make a tour to Geneva: I arrived there the next day, with a hundred horse, and came very seasonably to relieve this city from the terrors which the presence of a great number of Catholics within its walls occasioned. Messieurs de Guise, d'Elbœuf, d'Epernon, de Biron, de la Guiche, and many others, were there, with their several attendants. I assured the citizens that his majesty had their interest at heart, and that I would not leave them while those gentlemen continued amongst them: but the remembrance of the late persecutions was yet too recent in the minds of the citizens; they could not be satisfied till I had removed the occasion of their fears; which I did that evening by speaking to those gentlemen, who all left Geneva the next day. The city deputed twelve of their chief citizens, with Beza, their minister, at their head, to compliment his majesty, and to

endeavour to obtain a request which they kept very secret; this was, the demolition of Fort St. Catherine, which they were most ardently desirous of. Beza delivered himself like a man of sense, and one who knew how to praise with delicacy; congratulating the Protestants upon the happiness which the reign of so good a prince promised them. Henry thanked the deputies and the city, offering to bestow upon it any of his conquests which should be most suitable for it; and anticipating their request, told them, in a low voice, that they should have the pleasure of being masters of the fate of Fort St. Catherine; and that he gave them his word, in my presence (for he held me by the hand at the same time), that no entreaties whatever should hinder him from razing it. Upon which the deputies withdrew, extremely well pleased.

His majesty, at Cardinal Aldobrandin's request, consented that the conferences on the subject of a peace should be held at Lyons, and appointed the Cardinal du Perron, the Constable, the Chancellor, Villeroy, and Jeannin, to treat with the legate: they had yet come to no agreement, when the future queen arrived in that city.* As soon as the king

* This princess left Florence on the 17th of October, having embarked at Leghorn, and, with an escort of seventeen galleys, landed at Toulon, from whence she came by the way of Marseilles and Avignon to Lyons, where the king arrived post on the 9th of November. I take the following account from the most authentic Memoirs of those times:—The queen happened to be at supper when the king alighted; having a desire to see her at table without being discovered, he went in as far as the drawing-room, which was very much crowded; but he was known the moment he appeared by those nearest the door, who opened to make way for him: upon which his majesty went away directly, without going further. The queen, in the mean time, was well aware of all this, but still gave no other signs than by putting the dishes away as often as she was served with anything, and eat so little, that she seemed to have sat down rather for form's sake than to sup. After the table was removed, she returned immediately to her chamber. The king, who waited only for this, came to her chamber-door, ordering M. le Grand to go before; he knocked so loud, that the queen thought it must be the king; upon this she stepped forward at the very instant that M. le Grand entered the room, who was followed by his majesty, at whose feet she immediately threw herself. The king raised her, embraced her with great tenderness, and all that was polite, passionate, and respectful, passed on both sides. After the first compliments were over, the king took her hand and led her to the fireplace, where he

was informed of it he quitted his quarters, and set out in very rainy weather, riding post, with great part of the lords of his court. It was twelve o'clock at night when we got to the bridge of Lyons, where he waited a full hour, wet through with the rain, and almost perishing with cold, before they would open the gate; for his majesty would not suffer himself to be named, that he might have the pleasure of surprising the queen; they had not yet seen each other. The marriage ceremony was performed without any pomp. We attended the king at supper, who afterwards dismissed us to refresh ourselves likewise; and he retired to the queen's apartment.

His majesty's arrival only increased the warmth with which they contested the articles of the peace; the plenipotentiaries were almost all in the Duke of Savoy's interest, and glad of an opportunity to make their court to the legate; which was the cause that Henry thought it necessary to make them give an account of their negotiation, and severely blamed the commissioners for having exceeded the power that was given them. Belliévre and Villeroy had promised the legate that none of the fortresses which had been taken should be demolished, but especially St. Catherine, for which the legate particularly solicited, as being the best, and even the only bulwark the Duke of Savoy had against the republic of Geneva. Henry made them sensible that their precipitation in subscribing to an article of this importance without consulting him, had given him some suspicion of them; and added, that in a few days he would acquaint them with his intentions upon that head; then sending for me, he told me that the shortest way to prevent the solicitation which he

continued talking with her above half an hour; he afterwards went to supper, but eat very sparingly. In the mean time, he bid Madame de Nemours tell the queen that he had not provided himself with a bed, expecting she would give him part of hers, which from that time was to be in common between them. Madame de Nemours carrying this message to the queen, she returned for answer, That she had come thither only to obey his majesty, as the humblest of his servants. Upon this the king undressed, and went directly to the queen's chamber, who by this time was in bed. (Chronologie Septennaire, an. 1600, where also may be seen the particulars of the queen's journey, and her reception into the towns of France, &c.; De Thou, liv. 125; Matthieu, tom. ii. p. 378.)

expected from the legate, would be to blow up the five bastions of the fort, and to send word to the citizens of Geneva to come and complete the demolition of it. No order was ever more expeditiously nor more effectually executed. The Genevese, in one night, laid this citadel even with the ground, and carried away all the materials so carefully, that the next day it could with difficulty have been believed that there ever had been a fort on the spot; and at first the report ran that it was destroyed by lightning. When the truth was known, the legate expressed great resentment at it, and did not scruple to confess, in the heat of his passion, that I was the only person who had not deceived him with flattering hopes on this head, and that he had not sufficiently attended to my admonitions; but his having, upon the faith of the commissioners, given very different expectations to the pope, was what he was chiefly concerned at. The negotiation was entirely broken off for three or four days; and when it was afterwards resumed, it was with so much animosity on his eminence's part, that he rejected all the propositions which were made him: these were, that the Duke of Savoy should yield to the king the course of the river Rhone and its borders; that he should not erect any fort within a league of it, to favour the passage of the Spaniards; that he should leave to the republic of Geneva the enjoyment of certain villages, likewise specified; that Béche-Dauphin* should be demolished, Chateau-Dauphin restored; and lastly, that the duke should pay a hundred and fifty thousand crowns for the expenses of the war.

The king looking upon this affair as wholly impracticable, through the obstinacy of the legate, resolved to carry on the war more vigorously than before, and communicated his design to me, which was, to go in search of the Duke of Savoy at the head of his army; while I, with the artillery, battered the citadel of Bourg. Each of us had particular obstacles to this double project, besides the want of money, which was common to both. I found the enterprise on Bourg very difficult to be executed, the season being now so far advanced: the difference between this castle and that of Montmelian, with which, I think, it may be compared, is, that for

* Frontier of Dauphiny.

those who have only ten or twelve pieces of cannon, Montmelian is equivalent to ten such places as Bourg, because the reduction of Montmelian depends upon having artillery sufficient to batter the outworks; but for a train of sixty cannon the citadel of Montmelian is not more difficult to carry than that of Bourg; because the latter being more regular than the other, it can only be attacked methodically, and by slow degrees. Had the advice I gave, to attack this fort immediately after the surrender of Montmelian, been followed, it would have been now in the king's possession.

With regard to the king, his perplexity was occasioned by his knowing in what manner the greatest part of his general officers conspired with Spain and the Duke of Savoy against him: he had great reason to be apprehensive of engaging himself in the enemy's country, if they were with him: Lesdiguières was the only one on whom he could depend; he had lately given an instance of his fidelity, in sending notice by Calignon, that the Duke of Bouillon made use of a man named Ondevous to carry on his correspondence with the great lords of the kingdom. It is certain, that if Calignon had been more diligent to acquit himself of his commission, Ondevous would not have had time to escape as he did, and his detention might have laid open all the schemes of the seditious; but there is no appearance that this happened through the fault of Lesdiguières. I advised the king to rely entirely upon him, and to bind him still closer to his service by making him a marshal of France, and governor of Piedmont. As for the rest, it was easy to prevent the consequences of their ill intentions, by giving them employments at a distance from the body of the army. But the affair which appeared most pressing to us both being that of procuring a supply of money, it was resolved that I should set out for Paris in four days; and that I might be enabled to pass six entire weeks there, I employed these four days in making all the necessary preparations for the attack of Bourg, in paying the soldiers out of what little money remained, and in providing for the ordinary as well as extraordinary expenses of the king's household. The very next day I sent away my wife and my equipages before me, with directions to wait for me at Rouanne, from whence I purposed, as soon as I should arrive there, to send them down the Loire as far as Orleans.

They waited for me three or four days longer, because my measures were broken by the alterations that happened in the affair of the peace.

When I went to take leave of the king, he advised me to visit the legate also before I set out, he having always expressed great esteem for me. I went accordingly, booted, my post-horses waiting for me on the other side of the river, opposite to his lodgings. He asked me where I was going in that dress. "To Italy," replied I; "and I shall go with good company to kiss the pope's foot." "How! to Italy?" said he, in great amazement: "no, that must not be, sir; I beg you will assist me to renew this peace." I seemed to consent, in respect only to his mediation, the king having laid aside all thoughts of it. I repeated, in a few words, all the principal articles that had been already proposed, and afterwards asked him if he would give credit to what I was going to say to him. Having assured me he would, I told him that he might be absolutely certain that of these articles his majesty would abate none of his demands with regard to the borders of the Rhone, the villages in the neighbourhood of Geneva, Chateau-Dauphin, and Béche-Dauphin; because I was well acquainted with the king's intentions in all these respects. He desired to know my reasons, which I excused myself from telling him, on account of the short time I had to stay. After walking, thoughtfully, several times backwards and forwards in his chamber, he asked me if I would assure him, with the same protestations of sincerity, that, provided he agreed to all these points, there should be no mention made of the other. I told him that I believed I might promise this. Upon which he entreated me to go and acquaint the king with what he had said. Henry was glad to see me come back: and I returned a moment afterwards to the legate, with full powers from his majesty; and we concluded that instant a treaty which had been protracted so long a time, the conditions of which were as follows:*

The Duke of Savoy, in exchange for the marquisate of Saluces, which the King of France gave up, was to make a cession to his majesty of the fortresses of Cental, Monts,

* M. de Thou, Matthieu, and La Chron. Sept. agree with this account, ib. an. 1601. See also the treaty in the Mem. de Nevers, tom. ii. pp. 775, &c.

and Roquesparviere, the whole of Bresse, the borders and country of the Rhone on both sides as far as Lyons, except the bridge of Grezin, and some passages necessary for his highness to enter Franche-Comté; but he was not by this cession to acquire a right to raise any tribute in these places, or to build any fort there, or to ferry troops over, but by the king's permission, and on condition that, for this privilege of passing the bridge of Grezin, the duke should pay France one hundred thousand crowns. That he should likewise resign to his majesty the citadel of Bourg, the bailiwick of Gex, Chateau-Dauphin and its dependencies, with all that could be comprehended in the province of Dauphiny on this side the Alps: that he should likewise renounce the property of Aus, Chousy, Valley, Pont d'Arley, Seissel, Chana, and Pierre-Châtel, to the borders of Geneva: that the fortifications of Béche-Dauphin should be razed: that the king should, on his side, restore all the other forts he had taken, which are not specified here, withdrawing the artillery and ammunition that were then placed in them. The other articles related to criminals, and prisoners of war that had fled on either side, church benefices, exchange of estates between private persons, &c. It was provided for the Duke of Nemours, part of whose estate lay in this country, that he should not be disturbed in the possession of it, neither for the part which he held of the king, nor for that which he held of his highness. The other clauses common to all treaties I shall not mention.

Notwithstanding this treaty was signed by me in the name of the king, by the legate in that of the pope, and by the Duke of Savoy's agents, yet the duke, influenced by the Count of Fuentes, put off so long the entire conclusion of it, by his complaints and delays, that the king thought it necessary not to lay down his arms: he took post to Paris,* where he waited for the duke's determination.

In case there should be a necessity for his returning into

* "He departed," says Bassompièrre, "one night post from Lyons in order to return to Paris, and embarking at Rouen, landed at Briare; from whence he came to lie at Fontainebleau, and next day dined at Villeneuve; and crossing the Seine below the Tuileries, came in the evening to Verneuil (afterwards Senlis). We continued three days at Verneuil, and then came to Paris. At length the queen arrived at

Savoy, he had certain measures to take for the affairs within his kingdom, and in Paris especially, at a time when every place was filled with malcontents. He left the constable and Lesdiguières with some good troops upon that frontier till his return; and Villeroy, and two or three other commissioners at Lyons, to conclude the business of the peace.

But his majesty found no occasion to return into these provinces. The Duke of Savoy, after having long amused himself with expectations from the disaffected French lords, gave place to more prudent thoughts; and reflecting on what he had already lost by his obstinacy, he was very happy to accept the treaty in the form already mentioned; accordingly the last formalities were added, and the peace was published at Paris and Turin with the usual ceremonies: however, the articles were not fulfilled without many difficulties being raised by the Duke of Savoy, which detained Villeroy at Lyons part of the following year: it was not till then that everything was entirely agreed to; and Spain, who had taken great interest in the affair, even advised the Duke of Savoy to comply with the articles of the treaty. On all these occasions Henry paid great deference to the pope. He granted all the delays which the Duke of Savoy engaged the legate, by Count Octavio Taffone, to demand, which was contrary to Villeroy's advice: but his majesty having in reality obtained all that he could demand, he thought he ought not to observe too rigorously the manner it was yielded to him, nor hazard, for such a trifle, a renewal of the war. This produced as many advantages to the king as any war concluded in a single campaign could possibly do. His majesty declared that Bresse should not be comprehended in the district of Lyons, but that it should be reunited to Burgundy, and be under the jurisdiction of the court of *aides* of Paris.

The queen did not set out immediately after for Paris. She had brought with her Don John, her uncle, a bastard of the family of Medicis; Virgilius Ursinus, her cousin, who being brought up, while young, with her, had conceived hopes

Nemours; and the king, having travelled post with sixty fresh horses, came and carried her to Fontainebleau; after staying there five or six days, she arrived at Paris, and was accommodated with apartments at the house of Gondy." (Mem. de Bassompièrre, tom. i. pp. 89, 90.)

above his condition. Many more Italians, of both sexes, were in her train; amongst others, a young man named Conchini, and a girl called Leonora Galigai, who afterwards played a great part in France. I went to Paris eight days before the queen, to make preparations for the ceremony of her entry,* which was performed with great magnificence. The next day, the king brought the queen and the whole court to the Arsenal to dine with me; her majesty was attended by all her Italian ladies, who being pleased with the wine of Arbois, drank more of it than was necessary. I had some excellent white wine that was as clear as rock-water; I ordered some decanters to be filled with it, and when the ladies asked for water to temper the Burgundy, they were presented with this liquor: the king suspected, by their gaiety, that I had played them a trick. This winter was wholly taken up with parties of pleasure, on account of the king's marriage.

In Flanders, this year, the war broke out with great violence. Prince Maurice of Orange gained a battle in the month of May against the Archduke Albert,† in which the Admiral of Castile, the man on whom he chiefly depended, was taken prisoner. He afterwards laid siege to Nieuport,‡

* It does not appear that this princess was complimented with the ceremony of a public entry into Paris. The citizens, says the Chronologie Septennaire, would have prepared a very magnificent one for her, and addressed the king for that purpose, but his majesty chose rather that the expense of the entry should be laid out on other things that were more necessary. It afterwards adds: "Upon her arrival at the postern-gate of the suburb St. Marcel, the Marquis de Rosny caused all the cannon of the Arsenal to be fired three times. She was carried in a litter along the moats of the city, and that day lodged at the suburb St. Germain, at Gondy's house, and the next at Zamet's, and after that at the Louvre." (Ibid.)

† This was the celebrated battle of Nieuport, fought in July, 1600; the victory was gained chiefly through the bravery of the English forces, and the skill of their commander, Sir Francis Vere. About nine thousand of the enemy were slain, and, besides the admiral mentioned above, a great many other persons of distinction were taken, and several wounded, of which number was the archduke himself. The English general was also wounded in the leg and thigh, and his horse shot under him early in the action. (See Vere's Commentaries; Camden, and Bentivoglio, part iii. b. vi.)—Ed.

‡ This is not quite correct, Prince Maurice had laid siege to Nieuport previous to the battle, after which he again resumed the siege;

but was obliged to raise it. All I shall say of the war between the Emperor and the Grand Seignor in Hungary, is, that the Duke of Mercœur was made lieutenant-general there, by his Imperial Majesty.* I suppress a detail of the grandeur and magnificence of the secular jubilee at Rome,† and shall conclude the memoirs of this year with an incident that afforded matter for much serious reflection upon duels: Breauté,‡ having killed his adversary in a very uncommon combat, was afterwards assassinated himself.

but he was obliged to raise it, and return to Holland. (See as above.) —Ed.

* Consult the general and particular accounts of the military expeditions between the armies of the Emperor and the Grand Seignor which are mentioned here.

† It was said that 300,000 French, men and women, went to Rome, to obtain the indulgence of the jubilee; for the ceremonies of which, see La Septennaire, an. 1600, and other Memoirs of that time.

‡ Charles de Breauté, a French gentleman of Caux, captain of a troop of horse in the service of the States; his antagonist was a Flemish soldier, lieutenant of a company under the Governor of Bois-le-Duc, with whom he fought a singular kind of combat, of twenty French against the same number of Flemings; he had the advantage in the first encounter, in which he killed his antagonist, but was made prisoner in the second, and put to death by order of the Governor of Bois-le-Duc. He was one, says the author of the Chronologie Septennaire, that eagerly sought after occasions of duelling, for which reason he had been obliged to quit the court of France.

BOOK XII.

[1601.]

Affairs of the finances—Of money, of commerce, &c.—Prohibition against carrying gold or silver coin out of the kingdom—Chamber of Justice established, but to little purpose—The Author's reflections upon luxury and corruption of manners—The offices of the robe and finances suppressed—Journey of Henry IV. to Orleans—Affairs of the United Provinces—Henry goes to Calais—The French ambassador insulted at Madrid—Embassies from the Grand Seignor and the Venetians—The Queen of England comes to Dover; letters between her and Henry—Rosny goes to Dover—Conversations between Elizabeth and him, in which they lay the foundation of the great design against the House of Austria—The great wisdom of Elizabeth—Death of young Châtillon-Coligny—Birth of Louis XIII.—Henry makes La Rivière calculate his nativity—The affair of the Isles concluded with the Grand Duke of Tuscany—The Count of Bethune named Ambassador to Rome through Rosny's influence, notwithstanding the endeavours of Villeroy and Sillery to the contrary—Opposition made by these ministers to the opinions and policy of Rosny—Particulars of the conspiracy of Marshal Biron—Rosny endeavours to recal him to his duty—Henry sends him Ambassador to London—To Switzerland—He resumes his intrigues on his return—La Fin's depositions—An account of the pretended Don Sebastian, and other foreign affairs.

In the foregoing Book I finished the last military narration that will be found in these Memoirs, in which at least France was concerned. The life of Henry the Great, which had hitherto been wholly passed amidst the tumult of arms, will, in the sequel, exhibit only the actions of a pacific king, and the father of a family. The manner in which the campaign in Savoy had been conducted and terminated leaving no room to fear that the peace would be again infringed by those ancient enemies of the monarchy, or that it would not subsist so long as his majesty pleased, I resumed, by his orders, and under his inspection, those schemes with regard to the finances which the war had suspended, and were now

to meet with no more interruption. After the representation I have already given of the state of affairs within the kingdom, it would be injurious to consider the life which the prince and myself now embraced as idle and inactive; if it is less noisy and tumultuous, it is probably more laborious. Behold me therefore again shut up in my closet, where I applied myself with the utmost attention to the examination of all the abuses which still remained to be rooted out of the chamber of accounts:* the offices of the finances, the crown lands, the *aides*, the subsidies, the equivalents, the five large farms, the tenths, and all the others. I laboured at once for the present and the future, by taking such measures that the method I established in the direction of every part of the finances might not be afterwards subject to any alterations. I considered of means to enrich the king without impoverishing his subjects, to pay his debts, to repair his palaces, to complete the art of fortifying his cities, still more than that of attacking and defending them, and to make provision of arms and ammunition. I extended my cares to find out a method how to repair and renew the public works: such as roads, bridges, quays of rivers, and other buildings, which reflect no less honour upon the sovereign than the splendour of his own palaces, and are of general utility. For this purpose, I began by inquiring into the application that had been made of the money granted for those uses to the cities and corporations, or rather into the frauds that had been practised in the management of these funds.

The scheme of drawing up for every department of the finances general registers, which should lay down their nature uniformly and clearly, seemed always so happy a thought, and so proper to bring them to the utmost exactness, that wherever this method was practicable, I made use of it. On the first day of the year 1601, when I presented to the king the gold and silver medals, as usual, I delivered to him at the same time five of these general registers, each of which related to one or other of my employments, bound up neatly in one volume. In the first, which was of the greatest importance, because I there gave an account of whatever con-

* As to these reformations, consult also Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 444.

cerned myself as superintendent, was set down on one side all the money that was raised in France by the king from whatever tax; on the other, all that was to be deducted for the charge of collection; and consequently all that was to be brought clear into his majesty's coffers. I cannot persuade myself that this method had never been thought of by any one since the finances were subject to some regulation; interest alone could have prevented the execution of it. However that may be, I will always maintain that without this guide, there is no proceeding without mistakes or roguery.

The second of these registers was drawn up merely for the use of the keeper of the royal treasury: here was set down whence, and upon what account, he received all the king's money that passed through his hands during the year he was in office, and how much he was at liberty to disburse out of the whole sum, and for what purposes. The third was compiled for the use of the master-general of the ordnance, and contained an exact account of money received and expended; with a true inventory of all that related to the artillery, the number and description of cannon, and of other arms, the quantity of instruments of war, and of provisions laid up in different forts or magazines, the state of the arsenals and fortified places, and other observations of the same kind. The fourth related to my employment of chief surveyor of the roads, and gave an account of all the money disbursed, or to be disbursed, for the repair of everything in this department, whether it was to be done at the expense of the king or of the provinces. And, lastly, the fifth contained a catalogue of all the towns and castles, particularly those on the frontiers, which then required any money to be laid out upon them; with a kind of rough draught of the works necessary at each place, formed with due regard to their natural situation and present condition.

The king, on my representation, reformed many abuses with respect to money which had caused a decay of commerce, of which money is the chief instrument; the first was the practice, which was then allowed, of putting money to interest at eight, or even at ten per cent.,* a practice equally

* It is thus that a prince in our times, remarkable for his abilities and superior skill in politics, has judged; being firmly persuaded that

mischievous for the nobility and the people: for the nobility, because they, being forbidden to engage in trade, have no other riches but the produce of their estates, the value of which was reduced by high interest; for the people, because by putting out money to interest, they made as great a profit by sitting still as by labour, and thereby kept immense sums useless to the public, which, without that method of growing rich, they would have improved by some means advantageous to the commonwealth. The interest of eight per cent. was abolished, and six per cent. allowed in its stead.

The coin of different countries was till this time current in France, and passed in commerce equally with that of our own sovereign. A prohibition was issued, by which all money was suppressed but the coin of France,* that of Spain only excepted, which would have been too much missed in commerce had it been at once forbidden. But it was more necessary to rid ourselves of the merchandise of our neighbours than of their money, for the whole kingdom was filled with their manufactures; and it is incredible how much mischief was done by foreign stuffs, particularly those of gold and silver. The importation of these, and of all others, was forbidden under severe penalties; and because France had no means of supplying herself with them out of her own stock, we had recourse to the true remedy, which is, to do

the State would receive great advantages in every respect from a regulation which would oblige moneyed men to betake themselves to commerce and agriculture, which are infinitely preferable to the bare and dead produce of rents.

* It is true that the gold and silver coin of other countries ought not to pass current and be confounded with that of the prince in internal commerce, and in payments made between individuals; but is it not evident that the more such coin abounds among our own money, the more flourishing will our commerce be? The historian Matthieu observes (tom. ii. l. iii. p. 446), that this prohibition made the commerce in France decrease almost entirely; and the Duke of Sully himself confesses, a little lower, that he was obliged to have recourse to other means to retrieve it. We will examine this question with him, when he comes to treat of it, in the following book. As to the prohibition of using gold and silver in clothes and household furniture, we shall also have occasion, in the sequel, to give our opinion on the principles he establishes with regard to luxury.

without them; the use of all stuffs wrought with gold or silver being forbidden by the king.*

All these declarations tended to introduce a final one, by which it was forbidden to carry any kind of money out of the kingdom, under the penalty of a confiscation of all that should be intercepted in the carriage, and likewise of all the property of the offenders, as well those who favoured as those who were guilty of the infringement of this law. The king gave a public proof how much he had this affair at heart, by the oath he made not to grant any pardon for this sort of misdemeanour; and even to hold all those suspected who should dare to solicit him to the contrary: yet all this could only oblige those persons who carried on such practices to conceal them more carefully. I was of opinion, that one example would be more efficacious in correcting this obstinate evil than all the threats that had been published against it. I was not ignorant that a great many very considerable persons, and even amongst the courtiers themselves, made a fund out of this pernicious traffic, either by suffering this money to pass under their names, or by selling, at a high price, the authority which enabled them to correspond with foreigners, and secured the privilege of passage. I thought it most prudent to apply myself to those who were employed by them for these correspondences, and promised them that, as a recompense for their discovery, they should have the fourth part of the sums which should be seized through their informations; for the king having made over these confiscations to me, I had a right to dispose of them. By these means I was well served.

A month had scarcely elapsed, when I received notice from an inconsiderable person (the authors not being willing to make themselves known) that there were two hundred thousand crowns in gold collecting for exportation, which were to be sent at two different times, and that the first car-

* He showed by his example how to retrench the superfluity of dress, for he commonly went clad in a coat of grey cloth, with only a doublet of satin, or taffety, without any indented edgings, lace, or embroidery; he commended such as dressed in that plain fashion, and ridiculed those who carried, as he said, their windmills and their old woods on their backs. (Pèref. part iii.)

riage would be much less than the second. After having taken all the necessary precautions, this sum appearing rather too considerable for me, I thought myself obliged to mention it to the king, who made this modification in the right he had given me, that if the sum did not exceed ten thousand crowns, I might appropriate it to myself, but that the overplus should be his, "Which will come," said he, "very seasonably, as I have had some loss at play that I durst not tell you of, nor make up with my own money." I was not so mercenary as to wait for the seizure of the second carriage. I ordered the first to be watched, and with such vigilance, that it was stopped half a league beyond the territories of France; it could not be done in the kingdom, though but a quarter of a league from the frontier, without furnishing the offenders with a pretext for getting it released. There was found, in pistoles and double pistoles, and crowns of the sun, to the amount of forty-eight thousand crowns, which were concealed in some bales of common goods for exportation. The king's resolution on this article was so well known, that the conductors named no person as proprietor of it; and notwithstanding all the noise this seizure made at court, it was disavowed by every one; and the sum was divided by his majesty in the following manner: seventy-two thousand livres he reserved for himself, twenty-five thousand he ordered should be given to the informer, and the remaining forty-seven thousand he left to me; promising me that however large any future capture might be, he would take no part of it from me. But after this no more attempts were made to carry money out of the kingdom; this example had given a general dislike to so ruinous a traffic.

Those who composed the chamber of justice* which was erected against the contractors, treasurers, receivers, and others who had been guilty of misdemeanours in their offices, were likely, in appearance, to produce far more terrible

* Otherwise called the Royal Chamber; it consisted of a president of the parliament of Paris, two councillors, two masters of request, a president and four councillors of the chamber of accounts, a president and three councillors of the court of *aides*, and one of the general advocates of the parliament, &c. Commissioners were sent into the provinces, to give information of those who had been guilty of any malversations.

effects. It was my advice, that those offenders should not only be obliged to refund, but that those who were convicted of embezzling the public treasure should be corporally punished. Money, however, the possession of which covers all the crimes it is the cause of, shielded this from the just rigour of the law.* I would, were it possible, transfuse into the breasts of my countrymen some portion of that indignation which fills mine, against so pernicious an abuse, and all that contempt which I feel for those who owe their elevation to it. If we consider as a slight matter the despicable light we appear in to our neighbours by this shameful custom (for none strikes more directly at the honour of the nation), we cannot conceal from ourselves the evils it has given rise to; nothing has contributed more towards perverting our ideas of probity, candour, and disinterestedness, or turning those virtues into ridicule; nothing has more strengthened that fatal propensity to luxury, which is natural to all men, but which is become with us a second nature, by that peculiarity of temper which makes us fasten eagerly upon everything that can gratify our passions; and nothing in particular has so greatly degraded the French nobility as the rapid and dazzling fortunes of contractors and other men of business, by the opinion which they have circulated everywhere, and which is indeed but too well grounded, that in France this is almost the only method of arriving at the highest honours, and the first employments of the State, and that then everything is forgot, and everything is allowable.

To go to the source, military virtue is almost the only quality by which true nobility can be obtained, preserved, or dignified in France; and in this practice there will be found no prejudice or empty opinion, if it be considered that precedence must naturally be granted to that rank, by which all other classes of the community are preserved and supported

* The Duke of Sully seems to me to reason justly, when, in supposing the utility of the chambers of justice, he requires that they should not confine their proceedings to pecuniary mulcts only, but join to these corporal punishments. And he seems to me to have still greater reason, when, in the sequel, he advises the suppression of this method as absolutely useless, and the entire abolition in France of the custom of compositions in farming the finances; this was likewise the opinion of Cardinal Richelieu. (Testament Polit. part i. ch. iv. sec. 5.)

in that security without which there can be no property; but through an effect of the simplicity which still proves the antiquity and the purity of its first institution, this state of life is not the way to great fortune; by bravery nothing but honours could be got, because in those times honour was the only reward of glorious actions. At this day, when the notions of mankind are changed, and when everything is rated by the money which it brings, this generous body of nobility is brought into comparison with the managers of the revenue, the officers of justice, and the drudges of business. But this comparison terminates in a universal agreement to pay to these gatherers of money that respect which must always be shown to those who are possessed of power, and are, in fact, our superiors—an advantage which the former have lost.* And, indeed, how should it be otherwise, when we see the nobility of the same mind with regard to this point as the meanest of the people, and making no scruple to mingle the most illustrious blood in a shameful alliance with a dirty pedlar, who knows nothing but barter, his shop, his counter, or knavery? This abuse is necessarily productive of two others—confusion of ranks, and degeneracy of families, which last is better proved by experience than argument. We need only take a view of that great number of mongrel gentry with which the court and city is filled, and we shall find them wholly destitute of the plain and manly virtue of their ancestors,—with no depth of thought, no solidity of judgment, but rash, inconsiderate, passionately fond of play, naturally inclined to dissoluteness, solicitous about dress, with a vitiated taste in every kind of luxury, so that one would imagine they thought to exceed even the women in the

* Cardinal Richelieu complains of this abuse, and proposes a remedy for it, according to the Duke of Sully's scheme. "Gentlemen," says he, "cannot be promoted to places of trust and dignity but at the expense of their ruin; for at present all sorts of people are admitted to them through the infamous traffic carried on by means of money. For the future, all persons should be excluded from those posts but such as have the good fortune to be of noble birth." This minister concludes, in another place, after M. de Sully, "That the means of continuing the nobility in that purity of manners which they derive from their ancestors (these are his words) is to retrench that luxury and intolerable expense which have been gradually introduced." (Part i. ch. iii. sec. 1.)

effeminacy of their manners: yet these people engage in the army; but what can be expected from them with such dispositions, to which is often added a secret contempt for a profession they only embrace through constraint? This subversion of all order is indeed to be lamented, but is inevitable, while that profession, which has only glory for its object, is not exalted to the highest rank, and dignified with the chiefest honours, which, for that purpose, ought to be taken from the upstarts of fortune; and since the infamy which we should find these creatures of chance stained with, if we took pains to examine them, is not sufficient to excite our contempt, it is necessary they should be branded with public marks of disgrace, to show the rank they ought to hold.

The king was convinced of the justness of this reasoning: however, in this chamber of justice, the same thing happened that generally does, the petty rogues paid for all the rest; the principal delinquents found their security in that very metal for which they were prosecuted; they made use of a small part of it in presents, which saved the other. This moderation would not have prevailed with the king had it been employed directly; but they found access to the ladies of the court, and even to the queen herself. They gained the Constable, Bouillon, Bellegarde, Roquelaure, Souvré, Frontenac, and some others, who, though not of this high class, knew as well how to work upon the king's inclinations; such were Zamet, La Varenne, Gondy, Bonenil, Conchini, and many more of that sort. The complaisance of Henry towards those whom he suffered to live in some degree of familiarity with him, and especially ladies, destroyed all his wise resolutions, so that the storm burst only upon those who had reason to reproach themselves with not having yet stolen enough to put their thefts in security. The retrenching of part of those officers of all ranks with which the Bar and the finances abounded, and which was done at this time, was looked upon as the work of the chamber of justice. The great number of those officers, as well as their extreme licentiousness, are indubitable testimonies of the calamities that are introduced into a state, and the forerunners of its ruin.

In May the king and queen went to celebrate the jubilee at Orleans. I attended their majesties half a league beyond

Fontainebleau, from whence they proceeded that evening to Puiseaux. I took advantage of this little vacation to visit the estate of Baugy, which had been just awarded to me by a decree for the great sums which were due to me from this estate, and upon which I began to build immediately with the confiscated money I have mentioned above. I was stopped within two leagues from the place where I intended to sleep by a courier from his majesty, who called out to me while I was yet a great way before him. He brought me a letter from the king, which contained only these few words:

"My Friend,—I gave you six days for your journey to Baugy, but I have received letters of great consequence from Buzenval, which I want to show you, and to know your opinion on the design which is mentioned in them. You will oblige me if you will come and sleep to-night here at Puiseaux, whither you need bring no necessaries, as I have given directions for your lodging, and sent thither my hunting bed, and have ordered Coquet to get your supper ready, and your breakfast in the morning, for I will detain you no longer. Adieu, my beloved friend."

I wished my wife, who accompanied me, a good night, and taking with me only two gentlemen, a page, a valet-de-chambre, and one groom, I turned back to Puiseaux, where I found the king, who was amusing himself with seeing the youth of his train wrestle and leap in the court-yard of the priory. As soon as he saw me, he called Pasquier, who had been sent to him by Villeroy with Buzenval's letters, which informed the king that Prince Maurice had reviewed all the troops that had been in garrison during the winter, and selected from them the best, with which he had formed a fine army, well provided with everything necessary for its supply during a long march, there being two thousand carriages, with provisions, ammunition, and other stores attached to it; that, with this army, he intended (as Buzenval had learned from the Prince of Orange's officers and from the prince himself) to cross Brabant, the country of Liege, Hainault, and Artois, to gain by it the rivers along the frontiers of France, from whence he expected assistance, and bring the war to the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Berque-Saint-Vinox, Dunkerque, and Nieuport; that the archduke, greatly inferior to the Prince of Orange, not having yet re-

ceived the troops which he expected from Italy and Germany, beheld these preparations with astonishment, and durst not oppose his march, but contented himself with keeping near him, that he might oblige him to march in a narrow compass, and that while he obstructed him he might be himself near the place where he perceived the storm would break. Buzenval concluded by saying that, finding this step which had been communicated to him of great importance, he thought it was necessary to inform the king of it.

The knowledge I had of the Low Countries made this design of the Prince of Orange appear to me so dangerous, that I thought it likely to draw upon him a total defeat. He would be obliged to march a great way within view of the enemy, and upon their frontiers, through countries so full of woods, hedges, and hollow ways, particularly in the country of Liege, that I thought them impassable for such a number of waggons; and the king was of the same opinion. After we had conferred together a long time, he resolved to send Prince Maurice his sentiments on it, and I resumed my route to Baugy, in which I visited the lands of Sully, that I had a design of purchasing, and did so accordingly the following year. The king continued his journey to Orleans to pay his devotions, and laid there the first stone for the rebuilding the church of the Holy Cross: he afterwards returned to Paris, to which place I had come three days before his arrival.

Henry's letter changed the design of Nassau; he besieged Rhimberg, and took it on the 10th of June. The Archduke Albert, in revenge, invested Ostend* on the 5th of July. Maurice, on his side, laid siege to Bolduc, either to force the archduke to abandon his enterprise, or to indemnify himself by the reduction of this place, which was looked upon to be the most important fortress in Brabant. I was still of opinion that he would do neither; and when the king sent for me to hear my sentiments of it in the presence of the courtiers who were by when the packet which brought the news was opened, and who all spoke differently of it, I said,

* It will be often mentioned, this siege, in which many brave actions were performed on both sides, having lasted above three years; but for a minute detail of them, consult M. de Thou, Le Septennaire, and other historians.

that, although I was very young when I visited Bolduc, I had nevertheless preserved the remembrance of the place, and that, not to mention its situation, which rendered the siege of it a work of immense labour, it seemed to me impossible, considering the extent of the place and the great number of its inhabitants, to surround it in such a manner as to hinder any one from going in or out, at least without an army of twenty-five thousand men. In effect, the Prince of Orange failed in his attempt upon Bolduc: but all this did not happen till November.

The war breaking out so near our frontiers, made Henry resolve to go to Calais, as if he had no other design but to visit that part of the country. Although he always suspected the Spaniards, he was not apprehensive, in the then state of their affairs, that they would be prevailed on to break the peace; but he was not displeased at having an opportunity to give them a little uneasiness, in revenge for the daily occasions of discontent which he received from them. They did enough to oblige his majesty to do something more than this, had not policy prevailed over resentment. After many fruitless attempts to break the alliance between the Swiss cantons and France, and to hinder the pope from acting as arbitrator in the dispute about the marquisate of Saluces, because his holiness could not dispense with giving judgment against the Duke of Savoy, they had sent troops to that prince in the late campaign, under the command of the Count de Fuentes. Their continued intrigues with Marshal Biron, Bouillon, d'Auvergne, the Prince of Joinville, and several other persons, were known to every one; Biron himself had confessed it to his majesty; and, lastly, the king, at his return from Orleans, received certain intelligence of their practices with the cities of Metz, Marseilles, and Bayonne. His majesty dissembled his displeasure at all this; but nothing provoked him against Spain so much as the outrage which La Rochepot,* his am-

* Antony de Silly, Count de la Rochepot. His nephew, happening to be bathing with some French gentlemen, was insulted by some Spaniards, who threw his clothes, and those of his companions, into the river. They revenged themselves for the affront by killing and wounding some of the Spaniards; those who fled returned soon after to force

bassador at Madrid, his nephew, and his whole suite had received from that court. La Rochepot gave an account of it in his letters. "I swear by Heaven," said Henry, transported with rage, "that, if I can but once see my affairs in good order, and get a sufficient supply of money, and whatever else is necessary, I will make so furious a war upon them, that they shall repent of having obliged me to take up arms." However, he still shut his eyes upon so glaring a violation of the rights of nations, but it was not without doing great violence to his inclinations. "I see plainly," said this prince to me sometimes, "that through emulation, jealousy, and interest of state, France and Spain can never be on friendly terms with each other, and that a proper security against that Power must have some other foundation than words." He was sufficiently convinced of the error in Villeroy and Sillery's policy, who often, in his presence, maintained, in opposition to me, that a strict union with Spain was not only neither impossible nor dangerous for France, but likewise the most reasonable system of polities that ought to be embraced. To their arguments I opposed that competition so natural to these two crowns, the opposition of their interests, and the remembrance of so many recent injuries; and I concluded that, with so artful and unjust a neighbour, the necessary measures to be taken were to hold them always suspected, and to be always prepared for defence. The last news that came from Madrid gave me, for this time, the advantage over my opponents, at least in the king's opinion, who hesitated no longer about going to the neighbourhood of Ostend, after he had dismissed two celebrated embassies, which he received about this time.

One of these embassies was from the Grand Seignor, who sent to confirm the ancient alliances between the Ottoman and French courts, he having learnt that the Sophi of Persia, his enemy, had sent a solemn deputation to the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain (without taking any

open the ambassador's house, and thence dragged his nephew to prison, with others of his associates who had taken shelter there. This difference was compromised by the pope, who caused the prisoners to be sent to him at Rome, and delivered them to the Count de Bethune, brother to M. de Sully, the French ambassador at that court. (See the above-mentioned historians for the year 1601.)

notice of the King of France), to form an alliance with them and to entreat their assistance, and that he had received such promises as he desired. The Porte, on this occasion, made use of his physician, who was a Christian,* and invested him with the dignity of his ambassador. The terms in which this haughty potentate expressed himself with regard to the French,† discovered a distinction and respect of which there are few examples. He set a higher value, he said, upon the friendship and arms of the French, than those of all the other Christian nations together; and that although they should all unite with Persia against him, he should think himself in a condition to despise their attempts, as soon as he had secured the alliance and assistance of a king whose superiority over his neighbours, as well as his great personal qualities, he appeared not to be ignorant of. The Turkish ambassador presented his majesty with several rich presents, and gave me two scimitars of exquisite workmanship, which I keep with great care.

The other embassy was from the republic of Venice. This state had been a long time, by a particular alliance often renewed, and by their common interest, united with France against the Spanish power; it had been amongst the first to compliment his most Christian majesty upon his marriage and the peace, by the sieurs Gradenigo and Delfin, the last of whom was likewise in this embassy. Henry was desirous that these ambassadors should be received with the utmost distinction in Paris. He ordered them to be served with his own plate, and loaded them with presents of equal value with those he gave the first. The letters he then wrote to me turned almost wholly upon this subject, for he was then at Fontainebleau with the queen, who was far advanced in her

* Bartholomew Cœur, a renegade of Marseilles. He demanded of the king that the Duke of Mercœur should be recalled from Hungary, because, among the prophecies which the Turks believe, there is one, they say, that the French shall drive the Turks out of Europe.

† The terms in which the Porte addressed Henry were these: "To the most glorious, most magnanimous, and most illustrious prince of the faith of Jesus . . . . the composer of the differences that happen between Christian potentates, prince of grandeur, majesty, and opulence, and the glorious leader of the greatest subjects, Henry the Fourth, Emperor of France." (Manuscrits de la Biblioth. du Roi, vol. 9592.)

pregnancy, upon which account the king could not come immediately to Paris, and still less the queen, who had so great a concern in this embassy. His majesty showed so much respect for the Venetian ambassadors, as not to suffer them to wait for his return to Paris, but let them know that he would receive them at Fontainebleau, to which place his coaches and equipages carried them.

The archdukes could not fail to suspect that the king, by marching towards Calais, would endeavour to obstruct their designs upon Ostend, by way of reprisal for the ill-treatment La Rochepot had received. In order to discover the purport of this journey, they deputed to him the Count of Solre in the quality of ambassador, under a pretence of making him the same compliments on the queen's pregnancy which he received from all parts: enjoining this ambassador to insinuate a complaint of his journey, by which Solre gave a fair opportunity to the king, who, instead of satisfying him as to the occasion of his complaints, made, in his turn, very heavy ones against Spain, assuring him, however, but in general terms, that he would not be the first to come to a rupture, provided the Spaniards did not force him to it, by continuing their unfair proceedings. With this promise the ambassador pretended to be satisfied.

The Queen of England hearing the king was at Calais, thought it a favourable opportunity to satisfy her impatience of seeing and embracing her best friend. Henry was not less desirous of this interview, that he might confer with the queen upon the affairs of Europe in general, as well as on their own in particular, especially those which had been hinted to him by the English and Dutch ambassadors when he was at Nantes. Elizabeth first wrote him a letter equally polite and full of offers of service; she afterwards made him the usual compliments, and repeated those assurances by the Lord Edmond,* whom she despatched to Calais, till she herself could arrive at Dover, from whence she sent M. de Stafford Lord Sidney,† with other letters.

* He means Sir Thomas Edmondes. (See Birch's Negotiations, p. 200; Camden, &c.)—Ed.

† The person here styled "Stafford Lord Sidney," was Sir Robert Sydney, the younger brother of the illustrious Sir Philip. He was not a peer till after the accession of James, who first created him

Henry resolving not to be outdone in complaisance, answered these advances in a manner that showed at once his respect for Elizabeth, and his esteem and admiration for her character. This intercourse continued a long time, to the great mortification of the Spaniards, whose jealousy was strongly excited by the proximity and close correspondence of the two sovereigns. Of all the letters written by them on this occasion, I possess only one of those which Elizabeth wrote to the king: this, because it was the occasion of the voyage I made to this princess, I have kept in my hands; it was as follows:

"My very dear and well-beloved Brother,—I had always considered the condition of sovereigns to be the most happy, and that they were the least subject to meet with obstacles in the way of their just and legitimate desires; but our residence in two places so near each other makes me begin to think, that those of high as well as of middle rank often meet with thorns and difficulties, since from certain causes and considerations, rather to satisfy others than ourselves, we are both prevented from crossing the sea; for I had promised myself the happiness of embracing you, as being your very loyal sister and faithful ally, and you my very dear brother whom I love and honour above everything in this world, whose incomparable virtues (to tell you my real sentiments) I admire, and particularly your valour in arms, and politeness and gallantry amongst the fair sex. I have something of consequence to communicate to you, which I can neither write nor confide to any of your ministers, nor my own at present, so that, in expectation of a more convenient opportunity, I shall return to London in a few days. That God may continue to you, my very dear and well-beloved brother, his holy favours and blessing, is the prayer of your most affectionate sister and loyal ally—ELIZABETH."*

Baron Sydney of Penshurst, next Viscount Lisle, and lastly Earl of Leicester. Why he is called Stafford in the text it is not easy to say, unless we could suppose the author has confounded him with Sir Edward Stafford, ambassador in France in 1588.—ED.

* This letter, and this whole relation of the Duke of Sully's concerning Henry the Fourth's journey to Calais, and Elizabeth's to Dover, appear sufficient, without any other reflections, to show the error of

When the king received this letter, he read it over two or three times with great satisfaction, and took particular notice of the latter part of it; but being at a loss how to interpret it, he sent Secretary Feret for me, and as soon as I went to him, he said to me, "I have just received a letter from my good sister the Queen of England, whom you esteem so highly, more full of cajoleries than ever; pray see if, from your knowledge of her character, you can comprehend better than I can what she means by the conclusion of this letter." Having read it over several times, but being obliged to confess I could not comprehend it, "Well, my friend," said his majesty, "I will not conceal from you that I am very anxious to know what this princess has in view by these expressions, for, in my opinion, she has not employed them without very particular reasons: I have therefore thought of an expedient by which, perhaps, we may come to a knowledge of her meaning, without doing anything that can give offence to either party; this is, for you to set out to-morrow morning for Dover, as if by your own inclination, and on your arrival there, to make show of not wishing to stop, but of passing on to London, for the purpose of seeing the coun-

all those various judgments current at that time, and which have been mentioned by different historians concerning these two potentates. It was said Elizabeth proposed to Henry, either that he should come to Dover, or at least confer with her in a vessel half-way between these two towns, and that this proposal concealed a snare in which Elizabeth hoped to entrap Henry, by seizing upon his person in the interview, and keeping him prisoner till he restored Calais, and that Henry excused himself from complying with her request, only because he suspected the design; others say, because his fears of the sea were so great, that he durst not venture into a vessel. No one suspected the true motive for proposing this interview, which was the occasion of all those letters that passed between them, and caused the Duke of Sully to make the secret voyage to Dover, of which he here gives an account. Siri, on this occasion, builds up the resentment which he supposes Elizabeth always preserved, both at the peace of Vervins and the surrender of Calais, as well as her fear lest Henry should aggrandise himself too much, and on the jealousy which the English entertained of the French. (Mem. Recond. vol. i. pp. 130, 150, &c.) But this writer, so well acquainted with foreign negotiations, especially those of Italy and Spain, is not right, neither in the facts nor the opinions which he produces concerning the interior of our court and councils under the reign of Henry IV. He knew neither this prince nor the Duke of Sully.

try; so that, should you meet with any person of your acquaintance, the queen may be informed that you are in Dover to watch what she will do; and should she send for you, it is probable you may discover some part of her sentiments in the course of your conversation together."

I accordingly embarked early next morning, in a small boat, with very few attendants, without mentioning my journey to any one, and reached Dover about ten o'clock, where I saw a great number of people, some embarking, others landing, and many walking upon the beach; six or seven of the latter advanced towards me, one of whom was Lord Sidney, who, having five or six days before seen me at Calais, immediately recognised me, and ran to embrace me: with him were Cobham, Raleigh, and Griffin, and they were soon after joined by the Earls of Devonshire and Pembroke, who, after mutual civilities and compliments, asked me if I were come to see the queen on the part of my master. I told them I was not, and even assured them that the king knew nothing of my voyage; I likewise entreated them not to mention it to the queen, for not having had any intention of paying my respects to her, I had no letter to present, my desire being only to make a short tour *incognito* to London. These gentlemen replied, smiling, that I had taken a useless precaution, for that probably the guardship had already given a signal of my arrival, and that I might quickly expect to see a messenger from the queen, who would not suffer me to pass in this manner, she having but three days ago spoke of me publicly, and in very obliging terms. I affected to be extremely concerned at this unlucky accident, but to hope, nevertheless, that I might still pass undiscovered, provided that these gentlemen would be secret as to the place where I was to lodge; from whence, I assured them, I would immediately depart as soon as I had taken a little refreshment: saying this, I left them abruptly, and had but just entered my apartment, and spoke a few words to one of my secretaries, when I heard somebody behind me tell me that he arrested me as a prisoner to the queen. This was the captain of her majesty's guards, whom I embraced, and answered, smiling, that I should esteem such imprisonment a great honour. He had orders to conduct me directly to the queen; I therefore followed him. As soon as Elizabeth

perceived me, she exclaimed, "Well! Monsieur de Rosny, and do you thus break our fences and pass on without coming to see me? I am greatly surprised at it, for I thought you bore me more affection than any of my own servants, and I am persuaded that I have given you no cause to change those sentiments." I replied, that her majesty had always so highly honoured me, and testified so much good-will towards me, that I loved and honoured her for her excellent virtues, and would always serve her most humbly, not merely from my own inclination, but also from knowing that in doing so I was rendering an acceptable service to my king. After many more expressions of this sort, the queen replied, "Well, Monsieur de Rosny, to give you a proof that I believe all you have told me of the good-will of the king my brother, and of your own, I will speak with you on the subject of the last letter I wrote to him; though, perhaps, you have seen it, for Stafford* and Edmondes tell me that the king conceals few of his secrets from you." On telling her I was not ignorant of the letter, she immediately answered that she was glad of it, and also that I had crossed the sea, because she had no difficulty to tell me freely what she hinted at in the conclusion of her letter. She then drew me aside, and conversed with me a long time on the greater part of the events which had happened since the peace of Vervins (too long to be repeated here), and concluded with asking if her good brother the king's affairs were now in a better state than in 1598, and if he were in a condition to begin, in good earnest, the great design which she had proposed from that time? To this I replied, that, although since that period the king had had many weighty affairs to settle, as well in relation to the war in Savoy as to several plots in the heart of his kingdom, which were not yet entirely destroyed, all which had occasioned very heavy expenses, yet I had nevertheless so managed the revenue, and other departments of the state, that a numerous artillery had been provided, as well as abundance of stores and provisions, and even of money; but that all this, however, was not sufficient to advise him to bear alone the burthen of an open war against the whole house of Austria, which was so powerful, that it would be in

* This must be a mistake for Sydney. (See note, p. 229.)

vain to attack it partially; that it even appeared to me that the assistance of England and the States only was by no means sufficient for the commencement of so great a work, but that it was absolutely necessary to endeavour to form a coalition of all the other kings, princes, republics, and people, who dreaded the tyranny of that house, or would profit by its humiliation. The queen here told me she was very happy she had heard my sentiments on this subject, and the more so as she believed that I had not said so much without knowing something of the intentions of the king her brother, with which, in this case, hers would perfectly agree, by only adding certain conditions, which she considered as absolutely necessary to prevent misunderstanding and distrust among the coalesced powers; these, in her opinion, would be, to proportion so well the desires of each, that none might be entertained either prejudicial or disagreeable to any of the rest, which would inevitably happen if the more powerful wished to take the greatest share of the conquests and the distribution of them; and that above all things it was necessary that neither her brother the King of France, nor the King of Scotland, who would certainly inherit her crown, nor those of Denmark and Sweden, who might become very powerful both by land and sea, nor herself, consequently, should pretend to claim any portion of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, nor any place in their neighbourhood; "For, to conceal nothing from you," continued the queen, "if my brother the King of France should think of making himself proprietor, or even only feudal-lord of the United Provinces, I should never consent to it, but entertain a most violent jealousy of him; nor should I blame him if, giving him the same occasion, he should have the same fears of me: and so of all the other states and dignities of which the ambitious house of Austria may be deprived."

These were not the only reflections made by the Queen of England; she said many other things, which appeared to me so just and sensible, that I was filled with astonishment and admiration. It is not unusual to behold princes form great designs; their sphere of action so forcibly inclines them to this, that it is only necessary to warn them of the extreme, which is, the projecting what their powers are so little proportioned to perform, that they scarce ever find themselves

able to execute the half of what they purpose; but to be able to distinguish and form only such as are reasonable; wisely to regulate the conduct of them; to foresee and guard against all obstacles in such a manner, that, when they happen, nothing more will be necessary than to apply the remedies prepared long before; this is what few princes are capable of. Ignorance, prosperity, luxury, vanity, nay, even fear and indolence, daily produce schemes, to execute which there is not the least possibility. Another cause of surprise to me was, that Elizabeth and Henry, having never conferred together on their political project, should agree so exactly in all their ideas as not to differ even in the most minute particulars.*

The queen observing my eyes were attentively fixed on her without speaking, imagined she had expressed herself so confusedly in something she had said, that I was unable to comprehend her meaning. But when I ingenuously confessed to her the true cause of my silence and surprise, she then, without scruple, entered into the most minute parts of the design: but as I shall have an ample occasion to treat of this, in relating the great schemes which were prevented by the untimely death of Henry IV., I shall not trouble the

* As Hume has quoted the above passage, I will here show what authority the modern compiler of these Memoirs had for inserting it, by giving the words as they stand in the original Memoirs of Sully; they will, moreover, afford another instance how strangely that work has been in many instances garbled and misrepresented: Sully (*i.e.* his secretaries) says, that, after Elizabeth had asked him if, from his silence, he did not comprehend, or approve of her schemes, he replied in the following words: "Madam, my silence does not proceed from disapprobation of what you have told me, but, on the contrary, from my admiration of the excellence of your mind, your exalted courage, your foresight, and your judgment; nor can I deny that I have frequently made similar propositions to the king my master, and that I have often found him disposed to adopt plans conformable to those your majesty has just mentioned to me." This is all the authority for the passage in the text, which, to say nothing of its improbability, the compiler ought to have seen was in some degree contradicted by what goes before, where the queen, at the beginning of her conversation, asks Sully if the king's affairs were in a better state than in 1598, and if he were in a condition to begin, in good earnest, the great design which she had proposed ever since that period. This certainly implies that Henry knew what that great design was, and that some communications had been made respecting it.—Ed.

reader with useless repetitions, but in this place just show the five principal points to which her majesty reduced so extensive a scheme, as from the sequel of these Memoirs this will appear to have been. The first was, to restore Germany to its ancient liberty, in respect to the election of its emperors, and the nomination of a king of the Romans. The second, to render the United Provinces absolutely independent of Spain; and to form them into a republic, by annexing to them, if necessary, some provinces dismembered from Germany. The third, to do the same in regard to Switzerland, by incorporating with it some of the adjacent provinces, particularly Alsace and Franche-Comté. The fourth, to divide all Christendom into a certain number of powers, as equal as might be. The fifth, to reduce all the various religions in it under those three which should appear to be most numerous and considerable in Europe.

Our conference was very long: I cannot bestow praises upon the Queen of England that would be equal to the merit which I discovered in her in this short time, both as to the qualities of the heart and the understanding. I gave an exact relation of everything that passed between us to the king, who very highly approved of all she had said to me. Their majesties corresponded by letter during the rest of the time they stayed at Dover and Calais. All preliminaries were agreed on; measures were taken even on the grand object of the design, but with such secrecy, that the whole of this affair remained to the death of the king, and even much longer, among the number of those on which only various and uncertain conjectures were formed.*

The king did not return to Paris till he had carefully examined all the fortresses upon his frontier, and provided for their security: in every other respect, he appeared an indifferent spectator of the quarrel between the Spaniards and the Flemings; and all he did in favour of Ostend, the siege of which was still continued, was not to hinder some French from engaging in the service of the Prince of Orange, in

* Camden and other writers of this period seem not to have known of the Marquis of Rosny's visit: the former says, when the queen heard that Henry was at Calais, she sent over to him Sir Thomas Edmondes to see him, and congratulate him upon his health; he again, to acknowledge this courtesy, sent to the queen Marshal Biron, &c.—ED.

which several of them lost their lives; amongst these, the death of young Chatillon-Coligny,* whose head was shot off by a cannon-ball before Ostend, deserved to be particularly lamented. The king, when he was told of it, said publicly, that France had lost a man of great merit: myself, in particular, was sensibly afflicted at his death. Coligny, at an early age, had already united almost all the qualities that form a soldier; valour, moderation, prudence, judgment, and the art of making himself equally beloved by the soldier and officer. But Coligny was a Protestant; and the jealousy of the courtiers soon converted all these virtues into so many crimes in the opinion of the king; they told his majesty that he already aspired to the distinction of being head of the Protestants, both within and without the kingdom, to which he was solicited by the Duke of Bouillon; that he desired nothing with so much ardour as to equal, or even to surpass, the actions of his father and grandfather; and had been heard to declare that he should not regret the loss of life, if he had the satisfaction to lose it at the head of an army, fighting for the preservation of his friends. His affection for the soldiers was treated as an artful and dangerous artifice. They had hinted to the king that he had already raised a jealousy in the Prince of Orange; and that his majesty would one day have reason to fear a shoot from a stock that had given so much trouble to our kings. Henry was so far influenced by these insinuations, that when I went to ask some favours of him for the mother and brother of Coligny, he dwelt continually upon what he had heard, and had given but too much credit to, and appeared to me not only full of indifference for the death of Coligny, but also so greatly prejudiced against the whole family, that I desisted from a solicitation which could not but be prejudicial to myself, my connexions and conformity of religion with the deceased considered.

The king, at his return to Fontainebleau, had the plea-

* Henry de Coligny, Lord of Chatillon, son to Francis, and grandson to the Admiral de Coligny; he carried to the assistance of Ostend a regiment of 800 French. According to Brantôme, the house of Chatillon-Coligny came originally from Savoy, of a very noble and ancient lineage, as he says, and who were formerly sovereign princes, and very powerful. (Tom. iii. p. 173.)

sure to find the queen in as good a state of health as he left her. He was seldom from her during her pregnancy, and took all possible care of her health.* In a letter he wrote to me some days before the queen lay in, he says, "Bring no people of business with you at this time; no mention must be made of it during the first week of my wife's lying-in; we shall have sufficient employment to hinder her from getting cold."

At length, the moment that was to fill the king, the queen, and the whole kingdom with joy, arrived; on the 17th of September† the queen was delivered of a son, whose strong health, as well as the queen's, filled the kingdom with the most agreeable hopes.‡ I believe I may venture to affirm that this incident gave me more joy than any one else. I was attached to the king's person by the most tender ties of affection—an affection which I felt in a higher degree than the most faithful of his subjects—and was therefore more interested in his happiness. He was so well convinced of this truth, that he did me the honour to give me notice of the birth of his son in a note which he sent, at ten o'clock at night, from Fontainebleau to Paris, where I then was; it contained only these few words: "The queen is just delivered of a son; I send you the news, that you may rejoice with me." Besides this note, which he wrote as to a friend, he sent me another the next morning by La Varenne, as master-general of the ordnance; he there mentioned the birth of the Dauphin as an occasion of inexpressible delight to him: "Not so much," said he, "for the near concern I have

* "We read," says Bayle, in the Rep. de Lett. for January, 1686, "that Henry recommended to Louise Bourgeois, a very skilful midwife, who laid the queen, to perform her office so carefully as that there might be no occasion for employing a man-midwife; since this, he added, would shock female modesty."

† On Thursday night, about midnight.

‡ Pèrefixe says, "The king, imploring the blessing of Heaven upon the infant, gave him also his own benediction, and put his sword into his hand, praying God that He would be pleased to give him grace to make use of it only for his glory, and the defence of his people." Matthieu speaks in the very same terms: "My dearest," said he to the queen, "be of good cheer, for God has granted us what we desired." This writer adds, that a shock of an earthquake was felt two hours after midnight. (Tom. ii. l. iii. p. 441.)

in this incident, as for the general good of my subjects." He ordered me to fire the cannon of the Arsenal, which was performed in such a manner that the report was heard even at Fontainebleau. On this occasion it was not necessary to order public rejoicings: all his majesty's subjects, from the first to the meanest, concurred in giving demonstrations of it, in which fear and policy had no part.

The king's satisfaction was only interrupted by a slight indisposition, which he had drawn upon himself. La Rivière* was his first physician, a man who had little more religion than those generally have who blend it with the profession of judicial astrology; yet the world did him the honour to suppose that he concealed the principles of a Protestant under the appearance of a Catholic. Henry, who already felt a tenderness for his son that filled him with an eager anxiety to know his fate, having heard that La Rivière had often succeeded wonderfully in his predictions, commanded him to calculate the Dauphin's nativity with all the ceremonies of his art; and that the exact moment of his birth might be known, had carefully sought for the most excellent watch that could be procured. It appeared that the king thought no more of this design till about a fortnight after, when he and I being alone together, the conversation turned upon the predictions of La Brosse, which I have formerly mentioned, concerning his majesty and myself, which we had found so exactly accomplished. Henry's inclination to make the experiment with his son receiving new strength by this discourse, he ordered La Rivière to be sent for.

The physician, without taking any notice of it, had proceeded in his work. "M. de la Rivière," said the king to him, "we have been talking of astrology; what have you discovered concerning my son?" "I had begun my calculations," replied La Rivière, "but I left them unfinished, not caring any longer to amuse myself with the science, which I have always believed to be in some degree criminal." The king immediately discovered that this answer was not sin-

* La Rivière succeeded D'Alibour in the place of first physician; he had been in the family of the Duke of Bouillon, who resigned him to the king.

cere, and that he concealed his thoughts, either through an apprehension of offending his majesty, or from an effect of ill-humour, whim, or the caution of an astrologer, who held it dangerous to disclose his secrets. "I see plainly," said Henry, "that you are not restrained by motives of conscience; you are not of the number of persons who are so very scrupulous; but, in reality, you are afraid of not being able to tell me the truth, or of making me angry; but whatever it be, I will know it, and I command you, on my displeasure, to speak freely." La Rivière suffered himself to be pressed still longer; and at last, with a discontented air, either real or dissembled, said, "Sire, your son will live out the common age of a man, and will reign longer than you; but his inclination and yours will be very different; he will be obstinate in his opinions, often governed by his own whims, and sometimes by those of others: it will be safer then to think than to speak: impending ruin threatens your former society: all the effects of your prudence will be destroyed: he will perform great things, will be fortunate in his designs, and make a great figure in Europe: in his time there will be a vicissitude of peace and war: he will have children; and after him things will grow worse. This is all you can know from me, and more than I had resolved to tell you." The king, after musing a little while on what he had heard, said to La Rivière, "You mean the Protestants, I know; but you speak thus because you are well inclined towards them." "I understand," said La Rivière, "what you would have, but I shall say no more." His majesty and I continued together a long time in conversation, making reflections on every word that had been spoken by La Rivière, which remained strongly impressed on the king's mind.

It was not possible for me to stay long at Fontainebleau; but the king continued to give me, with great kindness, an account of everything that happened. "You cannot imagine," says he in one of his letters, "how well my wife is recovered of her lying-in; she dresses her head herself, and talks already of getting up." In another, nine days after her delivery, he says, "The queen goes already into her closet; she has a constitution surprisingly strong; my son likewise is very well, I thank God: these are the best news I can send a faithful and affectionate servant, whom I tenderly

love."* Henry sent his son to Saint-Germain to be nursed, on account of the salubrity of the air: and by one of those little strokes of popularity which show the heart better than more ostentatious actions, he would have him shown to all Paris; for which purpose he was carried openly through the midst of that great city. The Parisians, by repeated acclamations, expressed their pleasure at this sight.

The king had made a promise to the queen that, if she brought him a son, he would present her with the castle of Monceaux. "My wife," said he, in a letter to me, "has gained Monceaux, by giving me a son; therefore I desire you will send for the President Forget, to confer with him about this affair, and take his advice concerning the security that must be given to my children, for the sum which I pay for Monceaux." The city of Paris having likewise promised the queen a present of a suite of tapestry hangings for her lying-in, his majesty, in this letter, reminded me to demand it. An Infanta† was born in Spain, about the same time that Providence gave a prince to France.

The negotiation, so many years pending with the Grand Duke of Florence, was concluded this year; that the reader may understand the occasion of it, it is necessary he should know, that, under the reign of Henry the Third, Ferdinand de Medicis, Grand Duke of Florence, took advantage of the troubles which then raged in France, to possess himself of the little isles of Pomegue, Ratoneau, and If, with its castle, in the neighbourhood of Marseilles. Henry, fully resolved to make the grand duke restore them, ordered D'Ossat, who was then on the other side of the Alps, to demand them, in the year 1598. The grand duke not daring to refuse them absolutely, represented only that he had expended great sums of money upon these isles, which he could not resolve to lose. D'Ossat of himself removed this obstacle, by engaging that the king his master should indemnify him for these expenses, by paying him three hundred thousand crowns, for which twelve of the richest and most considerable persons

* The original of this letter of Henry IV. to M. de Sully is still extant; it is dated from Fontainebleau, the 27th of August. (Cabinet de M. le Duc de Sully.)

† Anna Maria Mauriette, afterwards Queen of France, born the 22nd of September.

in France should be security,* as if his majesty alone had not been sufficient to answer for so small a sum! The king, without attending particularly to this condition, ratified the treaty; and a short time after the Chevalier Vinta was sent by the Duke of Florence to conclude, with Gondy, the business of the Isles upon this plan.

The two agents did not go out of the council to seek for their securities, and the affair was proposed to me among the rest: this method of proceeding with a king, whose power no part of Europe was ignorant of, appeared to me so uncommon, that I could not help laughing at those who mentioned it to me. Villeroy took pains to represent to me the necessity of disengaging D'Ossat from his word: I replied that there never had been any bankers in my family; for, indeed, this was rather the business of bankers than of gentlemen. "None of the others," said Villeroy, "have made any difficulty about it." "I believe it," answered I, with some indignation, "for they are all either descended from traders or lawyers." Hereupon there arose a dispute in the council, which was reported to the king, who only smiled, and said they had done wrong to mention it to me without first informing him, since he had not acquainted me with it himself. "I am astonished," added he, "that he did not give a still ruder answer; you cannot be ignorant of his temper, and how highly he values himself upon the nobility of his birth; let this affair be concluded without his or any other person's entering into any obligation; I gave no permission to the Bishop of Rennes to agree to such an expedient." The grand duke did not allow himself to be solicited upon

* This is, in effect, the import of the fifth article of the treaty concluded on the 1st of May, 1598, between the King of France and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, by the intervention of Cardinal d'Ossat, which may be seen at full length at the end of the collection of this cardinal's letters. The Duke of Sully does not here reproach M. d'Ossat with anything which he had not already excused in the letter which he wrote to his majesty on the 5th of May, 1598, immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, and likewise in that to M. de Villeroy of the 4th of August following. He afterwards cleared himself more fully in a long memorial, which is also inserted at the end of that collection. However, we cannot think the reasons which M. de Sully produces against this convention groundless, nor believe that the Duke of Florence would have broken the treaty without that condition.

this head; he set the king free from the obligation of the twelve securities, out of regard to his person. The act for it was passed on the 4th of August, 1598, but the affair was not concluded on either side till the Chevalier Vinta arrived, in 1601.

I was likewise employed to settle certain estates in Piedmont, for which the Count of Soissons was desirous of treating with his majesty: they came to him by the death of the Princess of Conti, in right of his wife, who was of the house of Montaffié.* My report was not very favourable for the count; I represented to the king, that these estates, which had been too highly valued, were likewise subject to so much litigation, and were so disadvantageously situated, that these considerations ought greatly to depreciate their value. The Count of Soissons thought proper to dissemble the resentment he entertained against me for this declaration.

Fresne-Canaye† was appointed ambassador to Venice, and Bethune, my brother, to Rome, to the great mortification of the other ministers, especially Villeroy and Sillery, with whom I often had disputes, which the king had many times endeavoured to prevent. These two gentlemen had undertaken to exclude me from any concern in foreign affairs, the cognizance of which, they pretended, belonged only to them. The nomination to embassies falling under this head, they told his majesty, in my presence, that, for the embassy to Rome, they had abler persons to propose to him than Bethune, who, they said, had no knowledge of the affairs of that court, and had not yet performed any considerable service to the State. My brother had, however, already been charged with an embassy to Scotland, of which he had acquitted himself well; and it could not be denied that he was circumspect, wise, and honest; qualities which, in my opinion, are not among the least that are essential to an ambassador. What these gentlemen said, therefore, was as false as it was contemptuous; and this I made them sensible of in my answer,

* The Prince of Conti was first married to Jane de Coëme, Lady Bonnetable, and widow of Louis Count de Montaffié in Piedmont; and the Count de Soissons had married Anne de Montaffié, daughter to that Louis, by the said Jane de Coëme.

† Philip Canaye de Fresne; Philip de Bethune, Count de Selles, and De Charost.

by showing them the value of those services which the State received from the military art, and which those gentlemen seemed to place below all others.

Villeroy, piqued in his turn that I had not given the first rank to his, maintained his cause with great heat and animosity. His majesty found himself obliged to command us to be silent, telling us that he was offended at our holding such discourse in his presence; and that, without entering into a discussion of our services, we ought to be satisfied that he was pleased with them. I asked the king's pardon for daring, after this prohibition, to add a few words to close the mouths of persons who so unjustly placed the lazy business of the law, and the quiet employments of the cabinet, above the toils, the dangers, and expense of the military profession; and I truly spoke my sentiments of such partiality. "Well, well," said Henry, interrupting me, "I pardon you all, and take your words, as I must, but upon condition that, for the future you will avoid these little debates, and that when one of you recommends his friend to my favour, the others do not oppose it, but submit to my choice. At present I determine in favour of the Sieur de Bethune, whose family, wisdom, probity, and even capacity I esteem, having employed him in many affairs both of peace and war, of which he has acquitted himself worthily." The king promised Villeroy that, after my brother's return, he would dispose of the embassy to Rome according to his recommendation. He then put an end to his walk, which this quarrel had protracted to more than two hours, and went to dinner.

I went several times this year to Fontainebleau, to receive the king's orders concerning affairs that could no otherwise be communicated to him; and being often for a considerable time at a distance from each other, I received, as usual, a great number of letters from this prince: that in which he mentions the Marshal d'Ornano,* who had given him some causes of complaint, has something singular in it. "I never," says Henry, "saw so much obstinacy and ignorance together in one man, but I pronounced him dangerous; he

* Alphonso d'Ornano, son to San-Pietro de Bastelica, a colonel of the Swiss.

has reached the summit of insolence. Take care that he gives me no occasion to be convinced what he is, that is, unworthy of the honours I have bestowed on him; his fidelity only could deserve them: his many acts of disobedience will soon take away all claim to that character; to say the truth, I am quite tired of him."

The States of Languedoc meeting this year, the king wrote to me that he must transfer the place of their sitting to the Lower Languedoc, "that my servants," said he, "may not go first to those of the League." In another letter, he ordered me to send for some foals of his breed of horses at Meun;* and in another, to give two hundred crowns to Garnier, his preacher in Advent and Lent; the rest, which contain only a detail of slight circumstances, I suppress, although they are proofs of the extreme vigilance,

* "From his early years," says Brantôme, speaking of Henry II. in his Vies des Hommes Illustres (tom. ii. p. 24), "he was always very fond of the exercise of riding, and kept always a great number of horses in his grand stables at Tournelles, which were the principal, as also at Muns, at St. Leger, and at Oyron, under the inspection of M. de Boissy, master of the horse, the most valuable part of which was his breeding mares, wherein he took great delight." He adds, that this prince having one day shown his stables to the Emperor's master of the horse, the latter told him, that his master had not near so fine a set of horses, extolling them very highly, especially as the greatest part were of his own breeding. The troubles, during the last reigns, were the cause of the king's breeding-stables having then fallen into decay, and of being in a worse condition than they were under Henry II. That of Meun, or Mehun, in Berry, was the only one of the above-mentioned places where horses were bred for the king's use; and these stables were very inconsiderable, as may be seen from the archives of the secretary of the king's household, which are kept at Petitspères in Paris, where Meun is called Main, apparently to distinguish it from another Meun, upon the Indre, also in Berry. In 1604, the Duke of Bellegarde, master of the horse, caused Mark Antony de Bazy, captain of the breeding-stables, to remove the king's set of mares to St. Leger, a forest belonging to the crown. In 1618 some considerable additions and improvements were made; and greater still about 1665, when the late M. Colbert, minister of state, enlarged the bounds, made parks therein, and got together a great number of stallions and young colts, by means of Alain de Garsault, who was then captain. It continued in this state till 1715, at which time it began to be settled in Normandy, under the direction of Francis Gideon de Garsault; Louis de Lorraine, Count of Armagnac, being then master of the horse in France: since this last establishment, it has every day more the appearance of the stables of the most powerful prince in Europe.

and attention of this prince to matters of the smallest consequence.

I shall comprise in one article, with which the Memoirs of this year will conclude, all that relates to Marshal Biron, of whose revolt there was at length the most convincing proofs. After the king had been at Lyons, and had there entertained very strong suspicions against the marshal, his majesty had a private conversation with him in the convent of the Cordeliers, and appeared so well informed of all his transactions with the Duke of Savoy, that Biron, either because he then thought that, after such a discovery, all he could do was to repair his fault, or that he sought only to deceive the king, confessed to him, that he had not been able to resist the offers made to him by the Duke of Savoy, joined to his promise of giving him the princess,* his daughter, to wife. He asked the king's pardon for these proceedings, and protested to him, with the utmost appearance of sincerity, that he would never again suffer himself to be intoxicated with such expectations.

Henry thought he might depend upon this promise, which, however, was forgotten the same instant it was made. Biron resumed his former designs; went, according to his custom, at different times into the provinces, caressed all the malcontents he found amongst the gentry, entertained them continually with the injustice he received from the king, and his credit, and the correspondence he carried on without the kingdom. He entered into stronger engagements than ever with Bouillon, d'Entragues, d'Auvergne, and others.† He,

* The Marshal de Biron, by marrying the Duke of Savoy's third daughter, was to have received from the King of Spain, and that duke, the seigniory and investiture of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and the county of Charlois; this was one part of the grand project of both these courts, which consisted in dismembering in this manner the kingdom of France, and parcelling it out among the governors of its provinces. The proof of this may be seen in Vittorio Siri (Mem. rec. vol. i. pp. 103, 127); who likewise extols the services which the Count de Bethune, our author's brother, performed on this occasion to Henry IV. during his embassy at Rome.

† The author says nothing in all this account of the conspiracy of the Marshal Biron, his imprisonment, and the process against him, but which is confirmed by the histories and memoirs of that time; they mention these extravagant words of his: "The king does not at all hurt me, for I know how to be revenged on crowned heads, and even emperors." (Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. 2, p. 333.)

who was pride and fierceness itself, laid such a restraint upon his inclinations, as to appear to the soldiers the most humane and affable man in the world, and drew the affections of the mob by playing the hypocrite and the devotee; for what appearance will not ambition assume to attain its end? Hitherto, however, it might still have been doubted, whether he had not concealed his designs within his own breast, or that this conduct was not an effect of that disposition which is observable in many persons who, by their discourse, appear restless, disturbed, and fond of novelties, yet are far from any intention of throwing themselves headlong into rebellion.

Hence arose Henry's suspense concerning the conduct of Marshal Biron, though he still continued to have him carefully observed, and could not help being moved at the accounts that were brought him of his conduct in the last journey he had taken to Dijon, where he had passed the end of the preceding year and the beginning of this. Biron, who on his side had his spies at court, being apprehensive of the impression which his behaviour made on the king, thought proper to write to me on that subject. His letter is dated the 3rd of January; it turned only upon the ill offices that were done him with the king, and the injustice even his majesty did him in believing him capable of designs he had never entertained. He excused his journey to Burgundy, on account of some domestic affairs which made it absolutely necessary; and assured me that he should leave that province in two days. He concluded with entreating me to believe all that would be told me from him by Prevot, one of his agents, whom he had sent to me. This letter was too soon followed by incontestable proofs of his treachery, to make it be thought sincere; and I was so far from believing his professions in it, that they only increased my suspicions.

During the king's stay at Calais, he received still clearer and more circumstantial informations against Biron, doubtless because the marshal, believing himself less suspected than before, took greater liberties than usual. But Henry, instead of adopting those measures which, in prudence, ought to have been no longer delayed, could not yet look upon this man as incurable, and resolved, if possible, to bring him back to his duty, by gentleness, kindness, and such distinctions as

make the strongest impressions upon the heart of an honest man. Biron having demanded a gratuity of thirty thousand crowns from his majesty, the king thought it very reasonable, and granted it immediately; and because no obstacles should retard the payment of it, this prince ordered me to take proper measures to satisfy Biron without delay; accordingly I paid him instantly one-half of the sum in ready money, and assigned him the other half at the expiration of a year.

Biron thought there was a necessity for coming to thank me for this favour; he told me, that he was more obliged to me for it than the king, complaining to me that he had been forgotten, and even despised by this prince, now that he had no longer occasion for his sword,—this sword, said he, that has placed him upon the throne. It was impossible for me to keep silence upon this occasion; I represented to the marshal, with a kind of reproach, that he accused Henry so much the more unjustly, as this prince, to whom alone he was obliged for this gratuity, had not disdained to solicit himself for its payment. Hence I took occasion to speak with still greater freedom to Biron; I remonstrated to him that, although he should even have proofs of his neglect, he ought always to remember that he spoke of his master, and of a master who, by his personal qualities, still more than by his rank, engaged the esteem and respect of his subjects. I told him that there was nothing which kings were more sensible of than disrespect to their persons, an envious desire to lessen the glory of their arms, and ingratitude for their benefit. These terms were sufficiently plain, yet I went further; and if I did not tell Biron positively that I thought him both ungrateful and a traitor, there was nothing to hinder him from concluding it by all my discourse. I exhorted him to encourage a nobler emulation in his breast, which might give him a title to real praises; I dwelt upon the difference there was between making one's self beloved by one's prince and country, and endeavouring to become the object of their fear: a detestable attempt, and almost always fatal to those who make it. I told him that if he would join with me in mutual labours for the glory of the state and the public good, we might, in some degree, make both to depend upon us: he by his abilities for war, I by the

share I had in the government at home; and hence we should taste the refined pleasure of knowing ourselves to be either the authors or instruments of every public benefit. I finished my remonstrance by endeavouring to prevail upon him to go and return his majesty thanks for the gratuity he had just received.

To all this Biron, neither moved to gratitude by kindness, nor to repentance by conviction, answered only by exaggerating his own merit, so unseasonably and in such boastful terms, that I was now convinced of a thing I had hitherto only suspected, which was, that the harshness of his manners and the inequality of his temper proceeded from a slight taint of madness, for which so much the less allowance was to be made, as that, hindering him from reasoning, it could not hinder him from speaking and acting ill. What appeared to me a complete proof of it was, that after what I had just said to him, having reason to look upon me as a man in whose presence he could not be too cautious, he was imprudent enough to let something escape him concerning the designs that filled his head. I took no notice of it, but he perceived himself the error he had been guilty of, and to repair it, pretended to acquiesce with my reasons, and to approve of my sentiments. From that moment, I so absolutely despaired of ever being able to recal him to his duty, that I thought mine obliged me to conceal from the king nothing which I believed him capable of doing.

It was always a part of Henry's character to be persuaded with difficulty of the treachery of any person about him: he answered that he knew Biron perfectly well; that he was very capable of saying all that was related: but that this man, who, in consequence of his natural violence of temper, the effect of melancholy, was never contented, and exalted himself above every one else, was nevertheless, a moment after, the first to mount his horse, and dare all dangers for those whom he had railed at so much before; therefore he well deserved some indulgence for a little intemperance of tongue: that he was assured Biron would never be induced to rebel against him; that if this should happen, as he had already given a proof on those occasions where he had saved the marshal's life, and in the last place at Fontaine-Française, that he did not yield to him in courage, he knew like-

wise how to show him that he did not fear him. The king therefore made no alteration in his behaviour to Biron, except that he gave him still greater demonstrations of kindness, and loaded him with new honours, which he looked upon as the only remedy for his defection. He was sent ambassador extraordinary to Queen Elizabeth,* from whom the king knew he would rather receive instructions how to act well, than hear persuasions to induce him to fail in his duty, which was really the case; for the marshal, during his stay at the court of London, having, in a conversation with the queen, purposely introduced the subject of the Earl of Essex, by lamenting that, after having served her majesty so faithfully, that nobleman had found so tragical an end, Elizabeth answered him in very gentle terms, and spoke to him as if she had known something of the plots which the marshal was engaged in, magnifying the power and rights of kings and princes, appointed by God; and the duties of subjects, who were bound by the laws of Heaven, their conscience, honour, and virtue, to love, revere, and serve them respectfully and loyally, as well from the above reasons as from that prudence which forbids men in high stations embarking voluntarily in schemes replete with danger and insurmountable difficulties, as she wished him to understand the Earl of Essex had done, without reflecting on the inadequacy of the means he possessed to execute what he had purposed; and when he discovered his mistake, she continued, he would not act with the prudence necessary to make her forget what had passed, but, adding audacity and rage to presumption and temerity, he had rejected all the expedients offered him, to extricate himself from his difficulties; he having been informed by many of his friends that a confession of his errors, and a sincere repentance would obtain for him all the pardon he could wish for, and an entire oblivion of whatever had taken place.†

* A particular account of this embassy may be seen in Matthieu, tom. ii. l. 2, pp. 426 et seq.

† Mezerai, and other French writers, assert that Elizabeth showed Biron the brains of the Earl of Essex in her private chapel, or as others say, fastened to a post or stake, which Camden well observes "is most ridiculous, for his brains and body were truly buried together." For the rest, the relation of the conversation in the text is confirmed by

On his return from London, the king appointed Biron likewise ambassador extraordinary to Switzerland, to renew the treaty of alliance between France and the Cantons, still continuing to believe that an employment which would take off his thoughts from arms, and engage him in a commerce with a body so wise and politic as the Helvetic Senate would subdue at length all inclinations to sedition: but ambition, envy, and avarice, are passions that can never be wholly subdued; and had the heart of Biron been thoroughly sounded, it might probably have been found tainted with all the three. No sooner was he returned from his second embassy, than, as if he had endeavoured to make amends for the time he had lost, he laboured more assiduously than before to bring all his chimerical schemes to perfection; either being persuaded thereto by the Duke of Bouillon and the Count of Auvergne, who had likewise formed their party, or having drawn them into his.

To strengthen their mutual engagements, these three noblemen signed a bond of association, of which each kept an original: in this extraordinary document, which was produced in the process against Marshal Biron, they reciprocally promised, upon the faith and word of gentlemen and men of honour, to continue united for their common safety, *to and against all, without any exception* (these terms deserve particular observation); to keep inviolably secret whatever might be revealed to any one of them; and to burn this writing, in case any accident should happen to either of the associates. There was no prospect of succeeding in their designs but through the co-operation of Spain and Savoy; they therefore renewed their correspondence with these two powers, and on their side, to second their endeavours, went

Camden: "In the course of her conversation with Biron," he says, "the queen very sharply blamed the Earl of Essex for his ingratitude towards her, his unadvised consultations, and scornful contumacy, in not begging pardon for his offence; and she wished that the Christian King of France would rather use towards his subjects a mild severity than a dissolute clemency, and that he also would in time cut off the heads of those who plotted against the state. This advice of the queen might have well frighted Marshal Biron from his wicked designs; but the force of his destiny so besotted his blind understanding, that, within a few months after, he suffered the same punishment as the Earl of Essex had lately done."—Ed.

about picking up all the disaffected persons they could find amongst the gentry and soldiers. To draw into rebellion many of the towns at the greatest distance from Paris, particularly those in the provinces of Guienne and Poictou, they took advantage of the sedition occasioned by the establishment of the penny in the livre, which I had opposed so warmly in the assembly *des Notables*, but which I had not afterwards the power to suppress; however, it could not possibly be raised according to the original plan: it had been changed into a subsidy of eight hundred thousand francs, of which one-half was sunk in the *tailles*, and the other in the customs.

Biron and his associates, to increase the discontent of these people, already strongly incited by this impost, persuaded them, that, to complete their calamities, they would shortly be burthened with a duty upon salt; and many persons were kept in their pay in each of these provinces, to terrify the inhabitants with perpetual alarms. What government can expect to be free from these disturbers of public tranquillity, if that of Henry the Great, so wise, mild, and popular, was not? This evil, however, took its rise in the unhappy influence the civil wars had had on the manners of the people; that was the poison which produced those turbulent spirits to whom quiet was painful, and the happiest condition a languid inactivity; hence arises that restless ambition which keeps their reason enslaved, makes them murmur against Heaven, and quarrel with mankind for torments they bring on themselves; and raises their malice against princes, whose whole power, so obnoxious to them, is not sufficient to gratify their inordinate desires.

Henry's eyes were at length opened with regard to the real character of Biron, which he had hitherto flattered himself he knew so well, and he began to fear he should be obliged to have recourse to the most violent remedy to stop the contagion; informations multiplied every day, and came from persons who could not be suspected; all agreed in the chief point of the conspiracy; some mentioned the act of association, and, having seen it, related the very terms in which it was conceived. Calveyrac* gave the king the most

* John de Sudrie, Baron of Calveyrac.

circumstantial and most probable account that had been yet transmitted to him: besides the public rumour, he informed him that Biron and his colleagues had received several thousand pistoles from persons who came from Spain; that they expected sums still greater, and a supply of forces; that the council of Madrid had agreed to it, on condition that the rebels should begin by seizing some strong maritime places on the frontiers of Spain; that, conformably to this plan, enterprises were already formed upon Blaye, Bayonne, Narbonne, Marseilles, and Toulon; and that the Count of Auvergne was to wait only till these were executed, to begin openly his attempt upon St. Fleur.

All these informations made it absolutely necessary to examine the matter thoroughly. The king came on purpose to the Arsenal (where he found me busy in completing the labour I had begun), to communicate to me what he had learned, of which he gave me the detail, leaning upon the balcony over the great walk: he went afterwards to Fontainebleau, whither I followed him; and it was in this place that we were to proceed to the last extremities with Marshal Biron. He had for a long time made use of La Fin* to carry on his foreign negotiations, a lively, cunning, intriguing fellow, whom Bouillon and he often called their kinsman. La Fin had been sent several times to the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and the Count of Fuentes; but afterwards, upon some disgust Biron had given him, he retired to his house, where he remained unemployed. It was not thought impossible to gain him: and for this purpose his nephew, the Vidame de Chartres,† was employed, who endeavoured to prevail upon his uncle to come to Fontainebleau. In the

* James de La Fin, a gentleman of Burgundy, of the house of Beauvais la Nocle; "the most dangerous man," says Perefixe, "and the greatest traitor in France; the king knew him well, and often said to the marshal, 'Don't suffer that man to come near you; he's a rogue, he'll be the death of you.' He endeavoured to accuse the Marshal de Biron, from a jealousy he entertained, that the Baron de Lux had supplanted him in the marshal's favour; and in revenge to the Count de Fuentes, upon the discovery of his attempting to betray the latter, for that he had caused his secretary to be arrested; yet, that he might the better destroy the Marshal de Biron, he pretended still to have the same attachment to him as before."

† Pregent de La Fin, vidame de Chartres.

mean time I returned to Paris, to make preparations for a journey his majesty thought it necessary to take immediately into all those places through which Biron had passed, namely, Poitou, Guienne, Limosin, and especially about Blois.

La Fin having at length resolved to come to Fontainebleau, revealed all that he knew concerning Biron's conspiracy. The king was desirous that he should be detained and lodged at Mi-Voie, that he might be seen by none but those who were sent to confer with him. His majesty judging by what he had first declared, that my presence would be necessary, wrote these few words to me: "My Friend, come to me immediately, on an affair that concerns my service, your honour, and our mutual satisfaction. Adieu, my dear friend." I took post immediately, and on my arrival at Fontainebleau, I met his majesty in the midst of the large avenue to the castle, ready to go to hunt. I threw myself at his feet: "My friend," said he to me, pressing me in his arms, "all is discovered; the chief negotiator is come to ask pardon, and to make a full confession: in his accusation he includes a great number of persons of high rank, some of whom have particular reasons to love me; but he is a great liar,* and I am determined to believe nothing he says without good proofs: he accuses one man, amongst the rest, whom you little think of; come, guess who this traitor is." "That is not in my power, Sire," I replied. After pressing me some time longer, but to no purpose, "You know him well," said he; "it is M. de Rosny." "If the others are no more guilty than I," replied I, smiling, "your majesty need not give yourself much trouble about them." "I believe so," said the king; "and to show you that I do, I have ordered Beliévre and Villeroy to bring you all the accusations against yourself and the others; I have even told La Fin that I would

* We may, doubtless, rank among the number of these, the charge which La Fin brought against Biron, of his having attempted the king's life, and the Dauphin's, according to La Chron. Septennaire, since his friends made use of the proofs they had to the contrary, to obtain his pardon: "Sire, we have at least this advantage," said M. de La Force to Henry IV., throwing himself at his feet, "that there is nothing proved as to his having made any attempt on your majesty's person." (Vol. 9129 of the MSS. in the king's library.)

have him see you, and speak to you freely: he is concealed at Mi-Voie, and will meet you on the road from Moret. Appoint the hour and place, and none shall be present at your conference."

I could not imagine how my name happened to be found in this wicked cabal; whether it came from some of Biron's people, who supposed me to be a friend of their master, or from Biron himself and his associates, who thought it was lawful for them to make use of it to the Spanish ministers, to swell the number of their partisans, or of the malcontents of the kingdom: it was not impossible that two letters I wrote to the marshal, through zeal rather than complaisance, might have involved me in the number of these conspirators; and the rather because, in allusion to the conversation that passed between Biron and myself, which I have formerly mentioned, I told him plainly that there was nothing to hinder him from making himself useful and dear to the kingdom, by those measures I had marked out to him: I likewise told him, that although I was almost always about the king's person, yet I had never heard him express any resentment against him: and I advised Biron not to assert such a thing publicly, because the world would not fail to believe, and to report, that he only feigned to have received some disgust from his majesty, because his own conscience reproached him with having deserved it. Thus, what I said with an intention of bringing Biron back to his duty, was interpreted to my disadvantage.

Henry's opinion, as he has since told me, was, that this accusation of me did not take its rise either from Biron or any of his associates, but from La Fin alone, at the instigation of some persons, who hoped by that means to accomplish my disgrace: however that may be, it made so little impression on the king's mind, that his majesty, who had lately given me the government of the Bastile, and intended that the patent for it should not appear in my name, but only in that of La Chevalerie, altered his opinion on this occasion, and caused it to be expedited under mine, knowing none, he said, but myself, by whom he could expect to be served with fidelity, in case he should have birds in the cage. Accordingly, Villeroy was ordered to bring me the patent a few days after, which was the beginning of the following year.

I had a long conversation* with La Fin alone, in the forest; after which, Belliévre, Villeroy, and myself, examined, with great care, all the papers that contained any proofs against the Duke of Bouillon, Marshal Biron, and the Count of Auvergne; such as letters, memoranda, and other writings of the same kind. The names of many persons besides these three gentlemen were mentioned in them; but as it was probably with as little justice as my own, which was there likewise, I shall not, on so slight a foundation, give them a place in these Memoirs, which, to distrustful persons, might make them still more liable to suspicion, than the depositions of La Fin. After this examination we returned to his majesty, and a council being held, the result of it was, to keep everything secret, that Biron might not be warned of the measures that were to be taken to bring him to court, that he might be arrested with the greater security. It was likewise resolved that his majesty should set out immediately on the journey before-mentioned. The memoirs of the following year will show what these measures produced.

I shall here take some notice of what happened this year in the several States of Europe. The court of London was somewhat alarmed by a rebellion that was stirred up by the Spaniards in Ireland: Elizabeth sent to besiege Kinsale,† the strongest place that the rebels were in possession of; the Earl of Tyrone, their leader, and Don Alonzo del Campo, who commanded the Spanish troops in Ireland, hastened to relieve it with all the forces they could get together, which

* Matthieu, vol. ii. b. iii. p. 482.

† Owing to contrary winds, the Spanish fleet could not reach Cork, its destination, and therefore entered the harbour of Kinsale towards the end of September, where a body of troops were landed, Sir Richard Percy, the governor, retiring with his small garrison to Cork. The Spaniards, as usual, made religion a pretext for this invasion, by spreading various proclamations amongst the people, in one of which Elizabeth was said to be "deposed by the judgment of the pope; that her subjects were freed from their allegiance, and that the Spaniards were come to deliver them from the jaws of the devil!" However, through the vigilance and promptitude of Sir George Carew and Lord Mountjoy, all their schemes were frustrated. Our author is wrong in saying the enemy was routed by Lord (*i.e.* Sir Richard) Percy; the English forces were commanded by Lord Mountjoy. (See Camden.) —Ed.

were cut in pieces by the Lord Percy. Alonzo remained prisoner there, and Kinsale surrendered.

Very different reports have been raised concerning the destination of the fleet which was fitted out about this time by the King of Spain: but nothing could be certainly known about it; for after it had cruised some time in the Mediterranean, it was attacked by a tempest, and obliged to re-enter the port of Barcelona, in a very shattered condition, without having performed anything of importance: the command of this fleet had been given to Prince Doria. The true or false Don Sebastian still continued to have a great number of partisans in Portugal:* his speeches, certain secrets which he revealed, that, it seemed, could have been known to the King of Portugal only; certain natural marks upon his body, which he showed, and some other circumstances of the same kind, in which he resembled Don Sebastian, confirmed his assertions. However, to confess the truth, none of these proofs appeared unanswerable; nevertheless, the King of Spain thought it the wisest way to rid himself privately of this pretended prince: so that the truth was never known, or at least to a few persons only, whose interest it was not to publish it.

A diet was convoked at Ratisbon, with the intention to make some composition between the Popish and Protestant religions; but this came to nothing: upon the first question

* There is certainly something very surprising and uncommon in this perfect resemblance of all the parts, features, and even the defects of the body, which, according to all the historians, was between the real Don Sebastian and this man, who is said to have been a native of Calabria; and it is no less difficult to guess how he could come to the knowledge of the circumstances of this king's life, which were so particular and secret as to astonish every one. The Portuguese, still more deceived through their natural affection for the blood of their kings, as also through their hatred of Spain (this last motive might likewise be applied to M. de Sully), than from any evidence they had, persisted in supporting the claims of this impostor. The Septennaire is very favourable to him (ann. 1601, p. 217; see what has been said a little higher). The Spaniards were so thoroughly convinced of their having discovered the cheat, when Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, had delivered him up into the hands of the Viceroy of Naples, that they no longer scrupled to expose him as a public gazing-stock, mounted on an ass; after which they sent him to the galleys. (See Matthieu, tom. ii. l. iii. p. 451.)

proposed, which was concerning the authority of the Holy Scriptures,* such heat was raised among the disputants, that an accommodation became impracticable. The Papists maintained that their authority was derived wholly from the consent of the Church, that they might add the prerogative of infallibility to the other rights with which they have so liberally, and with so little reason, invested the pope: the Protestants treated this doctrine with contempt and ridicule.

The war in Transylvania still continued disadvantageous to the Vaivodes, Battory and Michael, who had revolted from the Emperor; they were defeated by George Baste, and Clausenburg was taken. The Duke of Mercœur signalised himself no less at the head of the Imperial troops against the Turks;† he took Albe-Royale in Hungary, a fortress esteemed impregnable; and afterwards drove the Turks from it, who had returned to besiege it. The archduke,‡ less fortunate than Mercœur, was beaten before Canise; and the knights of Malta took and destroyed the city of Passava, in the Morea.

Constantinople, and the palace of the Grand Seignor, was in no less commotion, through the discontent of the janissaries, who proceeded so far as to strangle, in the presence of Mahomet III., seven of the favourites of his seraglio, and even threatened to depose him: he was a man, indeed, whose vices rendered him unworthy of a throne; he was cruel, treacherous, slothful, avaricious, and sunk in every kind of voluptuousness.

* This question was publicly debated during several sittings between the Catholic divines of Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, and the Protestant divines of Ludovic, Count Palatine of Neuburg, and of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg: the two first of these princes assisted at it in person, and were obliged to put an end to this dispute, the advantage in which each of the parties, as is always the case, afterwards ascribed to themselves. (De Thou, Chron. Septen. for the year 1601.)

† The Duke of Mercœur, by his great exploits, acquired the reputation of one of the first warriors of his time. (See these, as also the other facts that are here spoken of, in the historians.)

‡ Ferdinand of Austria.

BOOK XIII.

[1602.]

Foreign princes at Paris—Henry IV. goes to Blois—Occasion of his journey—Further account of Marshal Biron's conspiracy—A council held at Blois upon this occasion—A design formed to arrest the Dukes of Epernon and Bouillon—The first clears his conduct—The great art and address of the second—Quarrel between the king and queen—Henry's conversation with Rosny upon this subject—The effects of Henry's journey into the provinces—He resolves to have Biron arrested—Particulars of his and the Count of Auvergne's imprisonment, and of Biron's trial and execution—Rosny's behaviour throughout this affair—Henry pardons the Baron de Lux and the Count of Auvergne, who again betrays him—Reasons why he behaved thus to the Count of Auvergne—The Prince of Joinville arrested—The king pardons him also, but he is confined in prison—The Duke of Bouillon artfully avoids coming to court—The courtiers endeavour to raise suspicions in Henry against Rosny—Curious conversations between them on this occasion—Affair of the advocates—Discourse of Sigogne—Edicts and regulations upon the coin, commerce, finances, &c.—Mines discovered in France—Edict against duels—The alliance with the Swiss renewed—Journey of Henry to Calais—Account of the military exploits between the Spaniards and Dutch; and other foreign affairs.

AGITATED as the minds of the people were by all those domestic disturbances mentioned in the preceding Book, yet it did not hinder them from resigning themselves, this winter, to their accustomed pleasures and shows. By the queen's order, and for her amusement, a magnificent interlude was composed: the Arsenal was the place the king chose for the representation of these shows, on account of the convenience its spacious apartments afforded, both for the actors and spectators. At the time that this interlude was to be played, the wound I had received in my mouth during the siege of Chartres* happening to open again, I was not

* See vol. i. p. 247.

in a condition to give the necessary orders at the Arsenal, and they had already pitched upon another place for its representation; but the king chose rather to wait till I was cured, which retarded it eight days.

Towards the middle of Lent, the Count of Schomberg, grand marshal of the empire, and envoy from the court of Vienna, arrived at Paris, into which he made his entry with a train of forty or fifty horse; the king ordered the same honours to be paid him that the Marshal de Bois-Dauphin* had received at Vienna. The prince, son to the Marquis of Brandenburg, stayed likewise some time at Paris. It was not usual to defray the expenses of persons of his rank, especially, as was observed by his majesty, if they did not follow the court; but the king was resolved to show a particular respect to a prince whose family—one of the most illustrious in Germany—had always professed a remarkable attachment for France; and I was ordered to send him every day, in his majesty's name, presents of the richest wines, and provisions for his table.

When everything was ready for the king's departure for Blois, and his majesty, in the several journeys he had made to Paris, had given all the necessary orders for securing peace and tranquillity in that city, and in the provinces he was going to remove from, as well as in those through which he was to pass, he left Paris on the 20th of May, and came to Fontainebleau, from whence he took the road to Blois. The queen and all her household accompanied his majesty in his journey; I likewise attended him, but did not set out till a few days after: the king sent me notice of his arrival at Blois, and his intention of staying there eight or ten days. This delay was no more than necessary for a regimen that was prescribed him by his physicians, to cure a defluxion of humours which had fallen on one of his legs, and which, for the time it lasted, as Henry wrote to me, might well be called the gout. Blois was, moreover, the most proper city he could choose to discover the secret practices of Marshal Biron: the king had many persons in this province in whom he could confide, who applied themselves solely to the making these discoveries, and almost every hour sent couriers to him

* Urban de Laval, Marquis de Sablé, who died in 1629.

with the intelligence they had procured; by them the king was informed that Biron's cabal extended to Anjou, the higher Poitou, Saintonge, Mirebalais, Châtelleraudois, Angoumois, Périgord, Limosin, Marche, and Auvergne, and even took in the higher Guienne and Languedoc; that it was supported by four or five noblemen of the court, whose names were not expressed, for fear of advancing anything that was yet doubtful: the connexions with Spain, the schemes for surprising the frontier cities, and the arguments they made use of to disgust the people with the present government (the same I have already mentioned), made up part of these advices, to which the following new informations were added.

The seditious, to prepossess the people with unfavourable thoughts of his majesty's journey to Blois, which was doubtless a source of uneasy apprehensions to them, gave out everywhere that Henry had only undertaken it with a design to chastise severely those that had resisted Jambeville, D'Amours, and the other commissioners who had been sent to exact the penny in the livre upon the rivers and other places of passage, and to settle it himself, in such a manner, that, by a new regulation of the rates, it should produce thrice as much, and to force the duty on salt to be everywhere received by taking possession of the salt-pits, for which the proprietors were to have no other recompense than some ill-paid rents from the town-house of Paris; and, lastly, to stop the murmurs which it was expected the exacting of two-tenths would raise (which they made them believe Henry had obtained the pope's permission to levy), and the revocation of the drawbacks granted on the taxes of 1594, 1595, and 1596, which I have already mentioned in the account of my journey into the several districts.

Thus was this good prince represented, throughout his whole kingdom, as a furious and implacable tyrant. They were never without one set of arguments to engage the Catholic nobility in a rebellion against him, and another to sow sedition amongst the Protestant officers and gentry: to the first they represented that this treasure and the formidable artillery which the king was providing, were to be employed in depriving them totally of their privileges, and reducing them to a state of slavery; they persuaded the

second that the persecution against them was already begun, that the payment of their garrisons, the funds for the preservation of their cities, the pensions of their leaders, their officers, and ministers, would be lessened this year by one-third, and the next by two, after which there would be so much the less difficulty in depriving them of all their fortresses, as it was a point already agreed upon by the council to exclude the Protestants from all public offices and employments, by refusing to expedite the patents for them.

If the proofs against the persons of the conspirators had been as clear as those of their plots, the king might have that instant given free course to his justice; but with regard to the Dukes of Bouillon and Trémouille, for example, there was as yet less certainty of their guilt than of Marshal Biron and the Count of Auvergne's; for at the most there were only suspicions, though those, indeed, were very strong against them; the other lords of the court, whose names, to the number of eight, were found in the list, might be well ranged under a third class of persons, whose doubtful conduct required some explanation. The Dukes of Bouillon and D'Epernon attended the king in his journey to Blois, and his majesty was of opinion he might be able to draw from them a proof of their real sentiments, by attentively observing the air and turn of their countenance during the recital he made them of the news he received. He began first with D'Epernon. A just regard to truth has so often reduced me to the necessity of speaking disadvantageously of this nobleman, that it is with a real satisfaction I seize this opportunity of showing his innocence, and giving him the praise he deserves. D'Epernon hearing whispers about the court of intrigues and cabals, easily apprehended that, as it is usual to judge of the present by the past, his name would not fail to be mentioned amongst those who were called enemies to the State; for which reason he took the precaution to renew to his majesty at Fontainebleau his assurances of fidelity. These assurances were all the proofs he had to offer, and, unfortunately, Henry, who had been long prejudiced against him, did not give much credit to them. Notwithstanding this step, he still continued to suspect him, and because D'Epernon, in speaking to him, had referred to me, the king wrote to me at Paris an account of what had passed between

him and the duke, letting me know, at the same time, that D'Epernon seemed to have an intention to make up matters with me; and he therefore ordered me to make the first advances to him, to the end that, if the crime with which he was charged should appear to be yet only intentional, his majesty might not have any cause to reproach himself with having suffered the duke to rush into actual treason, when there needed only good advice and kind treatment to prevent him.

I obeyed the king's orders, and from that moment became convinced of the Duke of Epernon's innocence; he said the same things to the king at Blois as he had done to me, and did not deny his having heard of some commotions and secret intrigues, but said that these were always so general, and sometimes so full of contradiction, that he could not imagine that any credit was to be given to them; that those who were said to be the authors or favourers of these plots having never given him the least intimation of them, he had treated as a fiction a project which appeared to him wholly extravagant, the present situation of affairs rendering the execution of it absolutely impossible; but whether real or not, he offered the king to continue about his person, as a security for his own fidelity during six months; and if that time was not sufficient, he swore to him that he would not quit him till his suspicions were entirely removed. The king could have no objection to so reasonable a proposition, and began, as well as myself, to believe that the Duke of Epernon was guiltless.

The Duke of Bouillon discovered far less sincerity: on the first mention his majesty made of the plot to him, he treated it as a calumny, invented by spies and informers, against the nobility of the kingdom, to exaggerate their own services, and to appear at least to earn the money that was given them for exercising this employment; to this reproach, which tacitly attacked his majesty, he added an application of a passage in the New Testament: "It is impossible but that offences will come, but woe unto him through whom they come;" a passage which, if taken in its true sense, might have been with more justice applied to Bouillon and his adherents. Bouillon did not stop here: he added, that it was true he was told that the Catholics, as well as the Pro-

testants, complained of their being oppressed with imposts, and that in proportion as the king's riches and happiness increased, they became poor and miserable; that, besides these general complaints, he had, in a certain place, heard Protestants say, that sooner or later it would be their destiny to be looked upon as the plague and nuisance of the State; that both they and their children would be hated, persecuted, and proscribed; that they would be excluded from all honours and employments, and that the kingdom would never be considered quiet till they should be totally extirpated: he added, that the more credit was given to these reports, because that persons of the greatest abilities in the kingdom not being admitted to the council, nor consulted on affairs relating either to the difference of religions, or to the new imposts that were established, they could not inform the people of the true motive of those resolutions which were taken there, nor could the people attribute them to anything but to a design to enslave them.

It was sufficiently plain that the Duke of Bouillon, by talking in this manner, sought to insinuate to the king that all these reports of a rebellion had no other foundation than the cries of the people oppressed with a multitude of taxes; and that this seeming discontent was put on to conceal from his majesty his real sentiments: but the insolence and the severity of his expressions showed plainly enough that he could not resist this opportunity of discharging some part of his malice; he even added, with the same subtilty, and with equal chagrin, that they had endeavoured to persuade himself that his majesty intended to abolish the privileges of his Viscounty of Turenne, and to purchase the rights and claims of the house of Mark upon Sedan; but to this, as well as to everything else, he said he had only replied, that he was persuaded the king would never act in such a manner, on account of the services he had at all times received from the Protestants; and he concluded by protesting to his majesty, that, although all that had been told him concerning the seditious and traitorous attempts in the kingdom should be as true as he believed them false, yet it should never lessen his duty and fidelity.

The king, dissembling to the Duke of Bouillon the opinion he conceived of him from this discourse, made him a proposal

of the same nature with that which the Duke of Epernon had of himself so frankly made, and which he expected would throw him into great confusion: he told the duke that he was satisfied with this assurance, and that he would no longer cherish any remainder of distrust of him, provided he would give the same satisfaction that Epernon had offered, which was, not to remove from the court while this affair continued in agitation; and that he might depend upon it he would not keep him about his person without communicating to him all his designs, and calling him to his councils, as he seemed to desire, that he might be himself a witness of his solicitude to relieve the people, and be able to give both the Protestants and Catholics an incontestable proof of the purity of his intentions. Bouillon preserved an uncommon presence of mind under this blow; he broke out into an exclamation of joy and surprise at the sentiments his majesty discovered for him; and as to the proposal he made him, he told him that he would go and put himself in a condition to satisfy it, not for six months only, but for his whole life if necessary, by taking a journey throughout all his estates, that nothing might afterwards interrupt the long stay he intended to make at court. In this manner, by appearing to do all that his majesty required, he reserved, nevertheless, the power of doing only what he pleased himself, and of making a plausible excuse for the sudden departure he was meditating. Henry, comprehending his design, resolved to call a secret council to deliberate upon the measures that were necessary to be taken in this conjuncture. The Count of Soissons, the Chancellor, Villeroy, Maisse, and myself, were the only persons present at this council: all other affairs were postponed till Descures* was heard, who had been sent by his majesty to invite Marshal Biron to court, and whose report was such, that it was unanimously resolved to arrest the marshal and the Count of Auvergne as soon as they arrived. The king afterwards asked if it would not be proper to do the like with the Dukes of Bouillon and Epernon before they left the court. Almost all the councillors were of this opinion, and the most distinguished amongst them qualified it no otherwise than by saying that Biron was the

* Peter Fougeu, Lord of Descures.

only one to whom mercy might be afterwards extended, because, that, doing nothing by himself he would easily be reduced to reason, when he was separated from those who hurried him on to his ruin. I took particular notice of this advice upon account of its singularity: mine, however, was directly opposite. I could not approve of the arresting of D'Epernon, nor even of Bouillon; if in such cases suspicions were to serve for proofs, it was likewise necessary, I said, to arrest all whom La Fin had accused, and myself the first; that in case they should afterwards be found innocent, they would, by this precipitate action, lose an opportunity of seizing Biron and Auvergne, whose treasons were manifest, since it would be impossible to arrest them all at the same time, and their flight would put it out of our power to prove anything against the prisoners. The arresting of Bouillon and D'Epernon, I added, would have this further ill consequence, that, whether guilty or innocent, his majesty could not avoid treating them as traitors, through a just fear of what their resentment only of such a public outrage might induce them to do against him. The king yielded to this advice, and the council broke up, it being already dinner time. His majesty being desirous of conferring with me alone upon what had been debated in the council, bid me snatch a soldier's dinner, and come back to him before the court filled again.

When I went down into the hall, where I was waited for by a crowd of people who attach themselves to men in power, I saw the Duke of Epernon advancing to meet me, who, with the same air of conscious innocence which I had before observed in him, told me, that such long and secret councils alarmed a great many persons, but he was not of the number, because he had nothing to reproach himself with. I replied, that he had then nothing to fear, the king being more disposed to pardon the guilty, who confessed their crimes, than to punish the innocent on suspicions only. "I perceive," added I, "many people who are leaving the court, but those whose consciences are clear need not have recourse to that expedient." "I am one of these," added Epernon; "and I am resolved not to leave the court while these discontents continue." "You cannot do better, sir," replied I; "and I

promise you that, on this occasion, you shall not lose the merit of having taken so good a resolution."

When I came home I ordered the steward of my household not to furnish my table as usual, but to serve me up anything that was ready. Nicolas* came in just as I was sitting down to table. "Come, wash immediately," said I, without telling him of the orders I had just given, "and take your place." He was greatly astonished to hear me, after I had drank two glasses, and eaten a hasty morsel, ask for the fruit, and, at the same time, order my horse to be got ready; he, who loved good cheer as well as mirth, was not pleased with this order. "*Pardieu*, sir," said he, "I am not surprised that you pass for one of the wisest noblemen in France; I don't know one who can drink three glasses during the whole time you are at dinner." "Well, well, Nicolas," replied I, "do you finish your dinner; as for me, I have business that calls me elsewhere."

I related to his majesty what D'Epernon had said to me a little time before. The king agreed with me that the duke had no inducement to engage in an affair that was carried on by persons whose religion and dispositions were different from his, by which, likewise, while he had no advantages to hope for, he ran the hazard of being stripped of his estates and employments. D'Epernon had judgment enough to know that the scheme of these rebels was likely to be a fatal one. "Not but that, probably, in his heart," said the king, "he would be glad of these disorders, that he may become more necessary to me; but he knows by experience such designs are often blasted." His majesty charged me to make another effort to prevail upon the Dukes of Bouillon and Trémouille to stay at court, but to wait till he went to Poictiers, because he might then receive intelligence that would determine him. I used my utmost endeavours for this purpose, in the presence of Messieurs de la Noue, de Constant, d'Aubigné, and De Préaux, but all were ineffectual.

* Simon Nicolas was the king's secretary, "a poet, a facetious man, and an old offender" (says the Journal of Henry IV.), "believing in God only for interest; and for this reason he became the more acceptable to company, according to the corrupt manners of those wretched times. He died two years after, in the seventieth year of his age, expressing himself in his last illness with shocking impiety."

During their majesties' stay at Blois, an affair of a very different nature was in agitation at court, which I am under some perplexity in relating, for it made too much noise to be passed over in silence; yet I am not at liberty to enter into an explanation of it here, lest I should betray the secret confided to me only by the king and queen, whom it personally concerned; the medium, therefore, which I shall observe, is to recount only so much of it as transpired, and came to the knowledge of the courtiers.

It was reported that the king and queen had some difference between them, which was confirmed by the king's sending Armagnac* for me so early in the morning, that he was still in bed, as well as the queen, and, contrary to their usual custom, each in their several apartments. It was observed that I had been several times backwards and forwards between them, and I had been seen kneeling three or four times before the king and queen, as if I were endeavouring to obtain some great favour of them. As nothing in such cases escapes inquisitive courtiers, each formed his own conjectures upon these circumstances; as also, that with the names of the king and queen they heard those of the Duke and Duchess of Florence and Mantua, Virgil Ursin, Don John, Bellegarde, Trainel, Vinti, Joannini, Conchini, Leonora, Gondy, Catherine, Selvage, and the Marchioness of Verneuil; other persons, they said, were hinted at, under the covert name of the *colour of tan*. They endeavoured to discover something by my wife, having learned that Conchini (who often had business with her, and who publicly paid her the same respect as a servant does his mistress, and often addressed her by that title) had been several times sent by the queen to bring her, and that she passed many whole afternoons shut up with her majesty in her closet, when she was alone, or when only Leonora was with her.

But that which afforded most matter for discourse, was, that at the time when these disputes ran highest, La Varenne came one morning to acquaint me that the king waited for me in the new gallery which he had lately caused to be built at Blois, over those that were the length of the garden below; it is that in which there is the odd representation of a hind

* First gentleman of the bedchamber to the king.

with a stag's horns. It was observed that his majesty ordered two Swiss, who understood not a word of French, to be placed sentinels at the end of this gallery, which was not yet closed up, and that during two hours and more which we continued together, we seemed to talk with great earnestness and action. They might, notwithstanding the distance, hear some of our words, from which they could draw no information; but it was not the same with those which his majesty spoke when he went out; these they understood and carefully remembered. "No more need be said of it; I will regulate my whole conduct by your advice," said the king, "that I may be no longer reproached with following my own will; but remember that we may probably both repent it one day, for you cannot but be affected with any misfortunes that happen to me. I know the disposition of those persons who foment our differences, they will be the cause of great uneasiness to the State: gentleness and indulgence are laudable qualities, I confess; but you cannot deny, also, that their extremes are dangerous." It was not difficult for them likewise to distinguish the latter part of my reply to the king. "It was, indeed, a part of prudence," I told him, "to foresee and to prevent bad accidents, but it was equally necessary to avoid hastening them by useless precautions." On this they founded their suspicion that the king had a design to proceed to some violent measures against certain persons of the queen's household,* and who were most in her confidence.

From Blois the king came to Poictiers; he afterwards showed himself in the Limosin and Guienne. His presence produced everywhere so good an effect that he found no opposition to his will, not even to the establishment of the

* This is speaking very plainly; and as the other Memoirs of that time all agree with this notion, it can scarcely be doubted that Henry had not only taken a resolution to clear the court of these informers, who exasperated the queen's mind against him, but likewise to make this princess sensible of her indiscretion, by forbearing to see her, and obliging her to live at a distance from him in one of his palaces, and perhaps by sending her back to Florence. We may see in the history of the mother and son (tom. i. p. 9), that this prince had threatened her both with the one and the other. It is probable that M. de Rosny thought this last course rather too violent, as, in fact, it was, all circumstances considered.

penny in the livre:* he might have afterwards continued this impost, and the collecting of it would have met with no difficulty; but, satisfied with the submission of his people, he took that opportunity to change it into a small subsidy, and afterwards to suppress it entirely. The edict of revocation expressed that his majesty was wholly induced to it by the obedience of his subjects. Henry, pleased with the success of his journey,† returned again to Fontainebleau, whither he was soon followed by Marshal Biron. The consternation his party was thrown into by the king's journey convinced him that his affairs were not so far advanced as he had been willing to believe; this made him take a resolution to go to court, which several other motives contributed to confirm. His treaty with Spain and Savoy was not yet upon such a footing as could give him hopes of having an immediate supply of what troops and money he had occasion for. Too glaring an opposition to the king's will might raise suspicions of his treasonable practices, which hitherto, he imagined, had escaped notice; nor was it unlikely, as the Baron de Lux, his friend and confidant, represented to him, that the king, upon his repeated refusals to appear before him, would march directly against him with an army, as against a declared rebel; which would be a fatal blow to the marshal, who was neither in a condition to defend himself, nor to retire into any of his fortresses, which were unprovided with ammunition of every kind, and particularly of artillery.

I had prepared Biron for this stroke by the precautions I took some months before: I represented to him that it was necessary all the pieces of cannon in the fortified places of Burgundy should be cast over again, and the powder new beat. The attention with which I applied myself to all the duties of my employment as master-general was alone suf-

* La Septennaire says that M. de Rosny was sent for this purpose by his majesty to Rochelle; and that he was commissioned by the Rochellers to make remonstrances to the king for suppressing the *pancarte*, or tariff of this impost.

† During this journey to Poictiers, says La Septennaire, which lasted near two months, the court seemed melancholy, the king pensive; no councils, no judicial proceedings were held, except at Blois; all which was owing to the public and private disquietudes of Henry, of which mention has already been made.

ficient to have made this proposal pass unsuspected; but that I might not give the least umbrage by it to the marshal, I was the first to offer to supply the deficiencies, by furnishing him with plenty of everything that was necessary from the arsenal of Lyons, which I had lately filled with great care. I consented that Biron should despatch some of his soldiers to Lyons, to escort the boats that were to be loaded with pieces of cannon I was to send him, and that he should receive them before he sent away those he already had. He was ignorant that I had taken such measures everywhere that the boats from Lyons, which went up the Saone very slowly, were stopped by the way, till those that came from Burgundy had got beyond the places under his jurisdiction; and when both were in my power, my boats proceeded no further.

Biron did not perceive the artifice I had made use of till it was out of his power to prevent it: he discovered so violent a rage against me, and boasted so publicly he would poniard me, that the king wrote to me never to go out without a good guard. I had likewise, as if without design, posted the light horse upon the passages of the Loire. But all this, which Biron probably believed to be done only to mortify him, could not open his eyes: De Lux and he drew no other inference from the impossibility they were now under of defending themselves, but that it was necessary they should deceive the king, till by foreign assistance they had provided for their security. Descures and Jeannin acted in such a manner with them as to increase this confidence; and La Fin had not only given Biron* the strongest assurance that he had not betrayed him, but likewise that he had sought for an interview with the king with no other view than to sound him, and that he had found him very far from guessing the truth; this he again confirmed to him at Fontainebleau, where, as he passed him, he said these words: "Courage, my master, and speak boldly." The council had likewise so earnestly kept the secret, that the court was wholly unacquainted with what was designed against Biron; and D'Eper-

* Marshal de Biron imagined that he had seen the treaty that was made with Spain flung into the fire; but La Fin deceived him by burning, instead of it, a piece of waste paper.

non, hearing of his arrival at Fontainebleau, sent him such offers of service as are usual amongst persons of high rank;* in which, after what had passed at Blois, he was guilty of great imprudence, as he has since confessed himself.

I had taken a tour to Moret when Biron arrived at court. The king sent me notice of it in the following note: "My friend, our man is come; he affects great modesty and reserve. Hasten hither speedily, that you may advise us what is to be done. Adieu, my dear friend." I returned imme-

* The Duke of Epernon did not deny that upon this occasion he had performed all the offices of a friend to Marshal de Biron. "When he conversed with him upon this affair," says the historian of his life, "he did not do it in ambiguous terms, as others did, but with great openness and sincerity. He acquainted him with La Fin's treachery, and showed him all the proofs of it, and exhorted him to throw himself upon the king's mercy. This clears the Duke of Epernon. Du Plessis-Bassonnière, a gentleman of honour, and very much attached to the duke (it is the same whom he sent to meet the marshal), was the person employed to use all sorts of arguments to prevail with him to ask the king's pardon; hence this gentleman, assured of his own and his patron's innocence, could never be induced to retire into a foreign country after the king, who was not ignorant of this step, had caused Marshal Biron to be arrested, in which he did the Duke of Epernon a considerable service: and he afterwards gave him a second piece of advice, which proved very profitable, and that was, to confess freely to his majesty all his proceedings with Marshal Biron, with what views and intentions he had treated with him." The same historian, in this account, throws out some hints, which discover the very bottom of the Duke of Epernon's sentiments, and which, at the same time, serve to show his character. "The Duke of Epernon," says he, "and Biron, having gone together to the Louvre, to pay their compliments after dinner, his majesty, being told beforehand of their coming, placed himself at a window to observe through the glass their motions and countenances. A friend of the Duke of Epernon, who was about the king, gave him notice of this, that he might regulate his behaviour accordingly. But he acted quite contrary to what he was advised; and being more and more confirmed in the testimony he received from his conscience of his innocence, and filled with a just and high indignation to see his fidelity suspected, he walked on with an upright countenance, and his eyes directed towards the window where he knew the king leaned. This his majesty took particular notice of, and made those about him do so too. The king afterwards made a match at tennis, in which the Count of Soissons, with the king, played against the Duke of Epernon and the marshal." It is at this match that the historians of that time make the duke utter a good saying, telling the marshal "that he played well, but chose his side badly." (Hist. de la Vie du Duc d'Epernon, an. 1602, p. 205.)

diately, and found the king walking before the pavilion where I lodged, with Praslin,* whom he quitted to come to me. He took my hand, and continuing his walk, told me that he had in vain endeavoured, by every method he could think of, to extort from Biron a confession of his crime, although he was so little capable of concealing his thoughts that he read them plainly in his countenance.† His majesty afterwards laid open to me his most secret sentiments with regard to the marshal: he still felt for him all his former tenderness, and beheld him not with resentment, but compassion. Ardently he wished that I would suggest to him the means by which, without incurring any danger, he might avoid treating him as a state criminal; but this was not easy to be done, considering the disposition Biron was known to be of. If it was dangerous to suffer him to escape when he showed no signs of repentance, it was no less so to release him upon his word, after letting him know that we had proofs of his treason.

The king once more resumed a resolution suggested to him by the natural sweetness of his temper, which was, to endeavour to restore the marshal to a right way of thinking: but as he had not been able to succeed in this attempt himself, he ordered me to undertake it, and promised me to avow all I should say to Biron to engage his submission, provided that I gave him no hint of what La Fin had said, to prevent

* Charles de Choiseul, Marquis de Praslin, captain of the first company of Guards, died a marshal of France in the year 1626.

† The king, wearied out with his obstinacy, suddenly left him, saying, as he went away, "Well, I must learn the truth elsewhere. Adieu, Baron de Biron." These words were like lightning before a clap of thunder, which struck him to the ground; the king thereby degrading him from those many high dignities to which he had advanced him. The same day, after supper, the Count of Soissons also exhorted him, in the king's name, to own the truth to him; and concluded his remonstrance with this sentence of the wise man, "The anger of kings is the forerunner of death." (Pèref. ibid.) After dinner, says La Septennaire, he came to wait on the king, who was walking in his grand hall, where his majesty, showing him his statue in relievo triumphing over the vanquished, says to him, "Well, cousin, if the King of Spain had seen me thus, what would he have said?" To which he lightly made answer, "Sire, he would have feared you but little." All the lords that were present took notice of this presumptuous answer, and the king looking sternly at him; Biron, who observed it, explained his meaning, by adding, "I mean, sire, that statue, but not this person."

the design of arresting him, to which he must have recourse if the marshal persisted in his obstinacy. "If he opens himself freely to you," said the king, "upon the confidence you must endeavour to inspire him with, of my favourable intentions towards him, assure him that he may come to me without fear, and confess all; and if he disguises no part of the truth, I promise you, upon my royal word, I will pardon him cheerfully."

I went to the castle to see the marshal, who was in his majesty's chamber, talking to La Curée at the head of the bed. I had a sufficient number of attendants with me; and the marshal, seeing his people make way at my approach, advanced to salute me, but did it very coldly. I thought I ought to begin by endeavouring to soften the resentment I knew he entertained against me. "How is this, sir?" said I, embracing him; "you salute me with the gravity of a senator, contrary to your usual custom; you must not be thus reserved; embrace me a second time, and let us talk freely." When we were seated, and out of the hearing of any person in the room, "Well, sir," said I, in an obliging tone, "what a strange man are you! have you yet paid your respects to the king? how were you received by him? what has he said to you? you know his disposition is frank and open, he likes others to be sincere with him; I am told you behaved in a very reserved manner to him, which was far from being seasonable, nor did it suit with either his temper or yours: I am your kinsman, your friend, and your servant; take my counsel, and you will find it will be useful to you; tell me freely what you have upon your heart, and depend upon it I will procure you satisfaction; be not apprehensive that I will deceive you." To all this Biron contented himself with replying in a cold and indifferent manner, "I have waited on the king with all the reverence and respect that I owe him; I have answered all his questions, which were only on general matters, nor had I anything more to say to him." "Ah! sir," replied I, "it is not thus that you ought to act with the king: you know the goodness of his heart; open yours to him, and declare freely to him, or to me, if you had rather it should be so, all your grievances, and I promise that, before night, you shall be satisfied with each other."

"I have nothing more to say either to the king or to you than what I have already said," returned the marshal; "but, if his majesty entertains any suspicion of me, or thinks I have given him any cause of complaint against me, let him or you acquaint me with the occasion of these suspicions and disgusts, and I will give you satisfaction." "The king," said I, in my eagerness to save him, "is offended at your coolness, for as to other particulars," I added immediately, "he is quite ignorant: but let your conscience be your judge, and act in the same manner as if you knew we were informed of your most secret actions, nay, even of your words and thoughts; for I protest to you, upon my honour, this is the most certain way to obtain whatever you can desire from the king. The method I recommend to you I always follow myself: if it ever happens that I commit any little fault, I acknowledge and exaggerate it to the king, who then grants me all I wish: if you will believe me, and take my counsel, dear marshal," pursued I, "you and I shall govern the court, and be at the head of affairs." "I am willing to believe you," replied Biron, with the same coldness, "but I have nothing to accuse myself of; I feel my conscience perfectly at ease since the confession I made the king at Lyons." Although I had probably said but too much already, yet I could not hinder myself from still making him several other solicitations, which he received no better, and soon after withdrew to his own lodgings.

The king entering that moment, I repeated to him all that I had said to Biron, and his answers. "You have gone rather too far," said his majesty to me, "and have said enough to create some suspicion in him, and even to induce him to fly. Go into that gallery," he added, after reflecting some moments upon the blindness and obstinacy with which the marshal hurried on to his ruin, "and wait for me there; I would talk to my wife and you alone." Accordingly he returned a short time afterwards with the queen, and shutting the door of the gallery, he told us that the double obligation he was under, as a king and father, to watch over the safety and happiness of the State, leaving him no other part to take but that of arresting Marshal Biron and the Count d'Auvergne, all that now remained was

to consider how to do it securely.* His majesty was of opinion that we should wait till the marshal and the count were retired each to his respective lodgings, and that then soldiers should be sent to invest them. I proposed that they should be amused in the king's closet till the night was far advanced, and that, after the greater part of the courtiers, weary of waiting for his majesty's retiring, should be withdrawn, they should then be seized as they went out of the king's apartment. "I do not see how this can be done," replied Henry, "without having my chamber and closet filled with blood; for they will not fail to draw their swords and defend themselves; and if this should happen, I had rather it were in their apartments than in mine." I thought it of most consequence, upon this occasion, to avoid, as much as possible, all noise and confusion; but the king continuing firm in his first proposal, took leave of me, bidding me go home to supper, "and at nine o'clock," said he, "let your horses be prepared, and you and all your people be booted, ready to mount and set out when I send for you."

I withdrew to my pavilion, where, after giving orders conformable to those I had received from his majesty, I went into my closet, from whence I could see all that passed about Biron's apartment, which was in the pavilion opposite to mine. I read and walked about alternately, without neglect-

* It would not have been done, if the Marshal de Biron had taken advantage of the notice that was given him. A certain person put a letter into his hand, as he was going to wait upon the king after supper, in the name of the Countess de Roussy, his sister, and, as he inquired what news, upon finding that the bearer made no answer, he doubted something else was the matter; and, after opening the letter, he found notice given him, that, if he did not make his retreat in two hours, he would be arrested, and directly showed it to one of his friends called De Carbonnières, who said to him, "Then, adieu, sir; I wish I had a poniard in my breast, provided you were now safe in Burgundy." To this he made answer, "Suppose I were there, and that I were to have four in mine, upon receiving the king's orders I would immediately come hither." Notwithstanding this, he went into the king's chamber, where he played at primero with the queen, and in the midst of his game, the Sieur de Merge, a gentleman of Burgundy, was observed to whisper something in his ear, which the marshal not regarding, the Count d'Auvergne came also, and twice touched him on the side, telling him, "It is not safe for us to be here." (Sept. ibid.)

ing to observe what was doing on that side where I expected soon to see the attack begun, and to receive new orders from the king. The clock struck nine, ten, and eleven, yet nothing was done; at length midnight came, yet all was quiet. "I am afraid," said I, returning to my chamber, where all my domestics waited for the scene that was preparing, some at play, some in conversation, and others asleep—"I am afraid that they have not taken their measures right, and have suffered the birds, which, with so little difficulty, they might have taken, to escape, and which will not be easily entrapped again." I then ordered them to saddle my horses and pack up my baggage, while I went into my closet, and wrote a few words.

I continued there half an hour, after which I heard a noise at the door of my pavilion next the garden, and a voice cry, "Sir, the king sends for you." I looked out at the window, and knew the messenger to be La Varenne, who went on saying, "Sir, come immediately, the king wants to speak with you, and to send you to Paris, to give the necessary orders there, for Messieurs de Biron and D'Auvergne are made prisoners." "And where were they taken?" said I.* "In the king's closet," he replied. "God be praised," said I, "that the king has followed that advice." I ran directly to his majesty's apartment. "Our men are seized," said he to me; "mount your horse, and go and prepare their lodgings in the Bastille; I shall send them in a boat to the gate of the Arsenal next the river: make them land there, that they may not be seen, and carry them without any noise through the midst of your courts and gardens. When you

* Vitry arrested the Marshal de Biron as he came out of the king's ante-chamber. "Sir," said he to him, "the king has commanded me to give him an account of your person; deliver me your sword." "You but jest," replied Biron to him. "Sir," rejoined Vitry, "the king has so commanded me." "Pray," said the marshal again, "let me speak to the king." "No, sir," answered Vitry, "the king has retired to rest." Praslin waited at the same time for the Count d'Auvergne at the gate of the castle, to whom, as he came out, he said, "You are the king's prisoner." "What I—I?" returned the Count d'Auvergne, much surprised. "Yes, you, sir," said Praslin to him; "I arrest you in the king's name; deliver me your sword." "Here, take it," replies the count, "it has never killed anything but wild boars; if you had acquainted me sooner of this, I would have been in bed and asleep two hours ago."

have made proper dispositions in the Arsenal for their reception, if you can, before they arrive, which they will do soon after you, go to the parliament and the town-house, and declare there what has happened; tell them that, at my arrival, they shall know the reasons for this proceeding, which they will find to be just." All these orders were happily and exactly executed. At the very moment that the prisoners landed at the Arsenal, my wife was brought to bed of that daughter of mine who bore the title of Mademoiselle de Sully.

I gave the care of the prisoners to the soldiers of the king's guards, joined to my own, and posted them in such a manner that they might be said to be guards upon each other. I likewise placed a guard upon the bastion, opposite to the windows in the prisoners' apartment, and another upon the terrace of the tower; so that, as I wrote to the king, it was impossible they could escape, unless by the interposition of angels. The repeated advices I received from his majesty obliged me to take all these precautions. A few days after the detention of the prisoners, the king wrote to me that he was informed there was a scheme laid to procure their escape, ordering me to watch them carefully, for that I should answer for them. I consented to this condition, relying on the fidelity of my soldiers, every one of whom, to make an escape practicable, must have been corrupted. Another time the king sent me notice that the plot which was formed for delivering Biron and D'Auvergne was also against my person: a boat full of soldiers was in the night to come up the river, and the men were to land at the steps of a gate behind my apartment which looked upon the river, that they were to force open this gate with a petard, to do the same by the second, and get into my chamber while I was in bed, and carry me to Franche-Comté, fresh horses being in readiness for them at the end of every ten leagues, and that when in possession of my person, they were to deal with me by way of reprisal, as Biron should be dealt with. This last information, although so circumstantial, appeared to me as frivolous as the rest: I thanked his majesty, however, for giving it me. He had the goodness to command me to be strictly attentive to my own safety, assuring me, that if the design which was laid against me should succeed, he would not he-

sitate a moment to purchase me at the price of freeing the prisoners, and, if there were occasion, by a still greater concession. To satisfy him, I placed a small guard likewise at this gate.

The first president, the President de Blancmesnil,* and the two councillors De Fleury and De Thurin, were named by the parliament to interrogate the prisoners, whom, for this purpose, I ordered to be carried into a small pavilion, in the midst of the great walk of the Arsenal: as it was necessary likewise that they should be examined in full parliament, I caused a covered boat to be prepared for them, in which they were carried thither and brought back again without being seen.

The history of this trial, and all the particulars of the event I am now relating, are known to every one, and that Marshal Biron seeing Miron, the lieutenant-civil, at the foot of the scaffold, gave him a caution against La Fin, took his leave of the elder Rumigny, entreating him to bear his respects to Mademoiselle de Rumigny, which, he said, was all the present he had to make her, and many circumstances of the like nature. The sudden sallies of rage, the terrors and weaknesses which this man,† who amidst the greatest dangers

* Achilles de Harlay, the first president; Nicholas de Potier, lord de Blanemesnil, president; Stephen de Fleury, dean; Philibert de Thurin, councillor of the grand chamber.

† These inward agitations had almost deprived him of his senses, and gave great trouble to the assistants, especially to the executioner, who durst not let him see his sword, and who yet took his opportunity so well, by amusing the marshal, that he made his head fly off at one blow, which he gave so dexterously that it was scarcely seen. I cannot forbear mentioning, to the honour of learning, that Marshal Biron, the father, was as remarkable for erudition as the son for ignorance: he could scarcely read. The following account of him from the Chronologie Septennaire, will serve to finish his character. The author, after observing that he had almost all the qualities necessary to make a great warrior, namely, that he was brave, successful, indefatigable, sober, and temperate, adds: "He was particularly fond of splendour, proud and ostentatious, and even has been often known to despise the pleasures of the table and live abstemiously, that he might gratify his fantastic passion for glory; he was daring in battle and immeasurably ambitious; he was so presumptuous as to believe that neither the king nor France could do without him; he had also become so malevolent and slanderous, that he spoke ill of all princes; he has been often heard to ridicule the mass, and make a jest of the Protestant religion; there

of war had acquired the character of intrepid, showed at his execution, have furnished matter for much discourse, and doubtless will not be forgotten by historians: as for me, I have nothing new to relate, except, perhaps, some circumstances that regard me personally.

While preparations were making for trying the two state prisoners, they often desired to speak with me:* two con-

are numberless instances given of his having but little religion; he relied very much on the predictions of astrologers and divines." The author, after this, gives an account of an adventure that happened to him as he was going to consult, under a borrowed name, the old astrologer La Brosse, the same of whom M. de Sully speaks so often in his Memoirs. "This good man," says he, "who was then in a little tower or garret that served him for a study, said to him, 'Well, my son, I see the person for whom this horoscope is cast will arrive at great honours through his diligence and military bravery, and might come to be a king, but there is a *caput algol* that keeps him from it.' 'And what is the meaning of that?' says the Baron de Biron. 'Don't ask me the meaning of it,' returns La Brosse. 'No!' says the baron, 'but I must know.' After many altercations between them, La Brosse at length said, 'The meaning is this, my friend; he will do so much that he shall have his head cut off.' Upon this, the baron fell upon him and beat him cruelly, and afterwards leaving him half-dead, came down from the garret, taking the key of the door with him." This account is filled with other pretended predictions that were made him, and to which I think no man of sense would have shown any regard.

* Biron requested the Sieur de Baranton, M. de Praslin's lieutenant, to wait on M. de Rosny from him, and tell him that he desired to see him; but if that favour could not be obtained, he earnestly begged of him to intercede with the king for his life, a piece of service which he expected from him, as he always had a great esteem for him, and found him to be his friend, and such a friend that, had he been persuaded by him, he would not have been in the place where he then was; that there were persons more guilty than himself, but that he was the most unfortunate of them all; that he was content to be confined between four bare walls and chained down. The earnest entreaties which the Sieur de Baranton made in his name so greatly affected M. de Rosny and his lady, the Sieur Zamet, and others who were present, that they were unable to speak for some time, and sat listening in tears. At length M. de Rosny broke silence and said, "I cannot see him, nor intercede for him; it is now too late. Had he been persuaded by me, he had not been in this melancholy situation, for he ought to have declared the truth to his majesty from the time of his arrival at Fontainebleau; and since he did not do so, he has taken from the king the means of giving him his life, and from all his friends that of interceding for him." (Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1602. See the whole of this affair in the historian Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. iii. pp. 482

siderations hindered me from giving them this satisfaction; first, because it would be to no purpose to hear the prayers and solicitations of Biron, whose life it was impossible for me to save; and, secondly, having been comprehended myself in La Fin's depositions, I was not willing to give either weak or malignant persons room to suspect that I had used any endeavours with the prisoners to keep them silent with regard to me, or that I had any occasion to speak to them. It was my design, on the other hand, that, if any supposed me to have had the least connexion with Biron, they should think that, by thus refusing to see him, I should make him resolve to live no longer on terms of civility with a man whom, upon that supposition, he must, for many reasons, regard as a traitor. He reverenced my innocence, and if he spoke of me, as he often did, it was only to praise the counsels I had given him, and to condemn himself for not following them.

Deffunctis, grand-provost of the Isle de France, took down in writing all that passed at the execution of Marshal Biron, and gave the manuscript to me some time afterwards. By that I learned that Biron, when he came out of the chapel, where he had made his confession to the Sieurs Garnier and Maignan, doctors of the Sorbonne, asked if there was no person there belonging to Monsieur de Rosny; and being told that the younger Arnaud was there, he called him, and said, "Monsieur Arnaud, I desire you will carry my last farewell to Monsieur de Rosny, and tell him, that to-day he loses one of his best friends, and the most affectionate kinsman and servant he ever had: I have always highly esteemed his merit and valued his friendship. Alas!" he continued, after raising his voice, and shedding some tears, which obliged him to keep his face covered with his handkerchief, "had I believed him, I should have avoided this fate: tell him, I beseech you, that I recommend my brothers to him, particularly my brother Saint-Blancard,* who is his nephew, and that I

to 534, where an account given of what relates to the Duke of Sully is conformable to that in our Memoirs.)

* John de Gontaut, Seigneur de Saint-Blancard, had married Mademoiselle de St. Genniés, niece to M. de Sully. The Marshal de Biron had no other brothers living; he must, therefore, comprehend under that name his brothers-in-law.

entreat he will give my youngest brother some post about the Dauphin, and that he would tell them, that, although I have failed in my duty and obedience, yet that they ought faithfully to perform theirs, and continue always firm in their attachment to the king; but that he would not let them come immediately to court, lest they should suffer any reproaches on my account." Another time, Biron, talking of me, said, "The king has in Monsieur de Rosny a faithful servant, and a wise and prudent councillor; his majesty has done well to make use of him; for while he continues to direct his councils, France will be happy, and I might have been so likewise, had I governed myself by his advice." On any other occasion I should have avoided inserting, in these Memoirs, such discourses in my praise; but on this I did not think myself at liberty to make the least alteration in the marshal's words. I was ignorant of his having given these public testimonies of his esteem for me, when I joined with the rest of his relations* in imploring a favour for him, a slight one, indeed,—it was only to change the place destined for his execution; accordingly, instead of the Place de Grève, which was named in his sentence, his majesty permitted the marshal to be beheaded in the court of the Bastille.†

* Messieurs de Saint-Blancard, de la Force, the Count de Roussy, de Chateauneuf, de Thémines, de Salignac, and De Saint-Angel, went three days after the arrest of Marshal de Biron to throw themselves at the feet of his majesty, who was then at St. Maur des Fossés, but they could obtain no other favour than that which our author speaks of here. Henry comforted them, by reminding them of the example of the Constable de Saint-Paul, allied to the house of Bourbon, who was beheaded for a similar crime, and the Prince of Condé, who would have undergone the same fate had it not been for the death of Francis II., &c. (MS. Biblioth. Royale, vol. 9129, where likewise may be seen a collection of pieces relating to the Marshal de Biron's trial.)

† It was said at the time that Marshal Biron fell a victim to the envy and hatred of the Duke of Sully; but I think there is sufficient proof in these Memoirs that their author did everything in his power to recal the marshal to a sense of his duty. In Lodge's Illustrations of British History is a French letter, written to some person in the English court on the day Biron was executed, which, as it contains several interesting particulars, and shows in some degree the popular feeling on the occasion, I shall offer no apology for giving a translation of the greater part of it here:—"The chancellor, assisted by the princip councillors of state, and the masters of requests, met several days, to gether with the parliament, to try the Marshal de Biron. On Friday

The death of Biron entirely disconcerted all the schemes of the cabal. Lavardin, who had been sent at the same

last, whilst they were sitting, about eight o'clock, three soldiers stuck a large placard about the principal gate of the palace, the substance of which was, 'That what they alleged against the marshal was nothing but calumny, and that the court had better take care how they dealt with him;' the remainder consisted of his praises. This placard was carried to the assembly by Chevalier le Guet, which broke up immediately; it met again the next day, being Saturday, the 19th of this month [July, 1602], to hear the marshal, who was brought in by M. de Montigny. At first, he was put to the bar, but the chancellor not being able to hear him, he was brought withinside, where a seat was given him. He then made a long and eloquent speech, on the services of his deceased father and himself, begging the assembly to consider the difference between him and La Fin, whom he charged with having urged him to such an action, and having even bewitched him, and whom, he added, every one knew to be the most infamous person on earth. As the marshal would make no confessions, the chancellor told him, that justice possessed means of compelling those to speak who showed too much obstinacy; to which he replied, 'That justice ceased to be such when it wished to draw from people by force matters which they were ignorant of.' On that day the king was at the Tuileries, and was very urgent for the conclusion of the business, which would have taken place but for M. Fleury, the judge, who, on account of the lateness of the hour, would not come to a vote; the marshal was, therefore, conveyed back to the Bastille by water, as he had come. On the same evening, another placard was fixed to the palace-gate, with these words: 'To-day, in order to gratify Rosny, they put Biron to death on the single evidence of the most infamous traitor in the kingdom; a murderer, a parricide, a coiner of bad money, a ravisher, and a sorcerer.' Another very seditious one was thrown into the Tuileries. Last Monday, the court met at five in the morning, and sat till two in the afternoon. When they came to the vote, there was not one of the councillors who did not speak at great length on the marshal's virtues, yet all voted for his execution, by which the court declared him fully attainted of high treason, in having made attempts against the person of the king and his state, for which, after he should be heard and interrogated on certain facts and articles arising out of the trial, they sentenced him to be led to the Place de Grève, and there, on a scaffold, to be beheaded, and his property to be confiscated to the king, or to those to whom it appertains. On the next day (Tuesday), it was expected that he would be executed; but some of his friends, having petitioned the king that he might not be executed publicly, and the king referring the matter to the court, it was necessary to wait till this morning, when it assembled; and it has decreed that, notwithstanding the sentence of Monday, the court in mitigation allow that he shall be executed in the Bastille, whither the first president, accompanied by the chancellor, immediately repaired: as soon as the marshal saw them

time by his majesty into Burgundy, at the head of a body of troops, took possession of all the places there which had been held by the marshal without striking a blow, and sent Senecé to inform the king that this province had submitted. The government of it was given to the Dauphin, to whom M. Le Grand was made lieutenant. The proceedings against the conspirators stopped here; and, except Fontenelles,* whom Henry thought it necessary to punish, as an example to others, although he was not one of the principal criminals, he pardoned all the rest. The number of the conspirators was very great, and, upon examination, many of the most considerable courtiers were involved in the guilt.† I strengthened as much as possible the king's inclinations to lenity: I forewarned those whom I knew to have had some share in

approaching, he said to those about him, 'See! here comes my death!' The chancellor having asked him for the riband of the order, he answered, 'Take it! I wish I had never seen it!' and when the president wished to read his sentence, he would not hear him, interrupting him every moment, and bearing it with great impatience; and as some of the clergy admonished him to prepare for death, he said, 'Be done! Do you not see that fellow there, who is waiting for me?' meaning the executioner. As he mounted the scaffold, he recollected one of his sisters, who was with child, and taking a ring from his finger, he begged them to give it to her. He also mentioned a great deal of money which he had in different places, but he accused no person. When upon the scaffold, and the executioner approached to make everything right, he ordered him not to touch him, lest he should put him in a rage, 'For,' said he, 'I will strangle you all!' His countenance was very wild, and he often looked round to see if he could not seize the executioner's sword; he put on his bandage two or three times, and at the second time he requested one of his brothers-in-law to console him as much as he could; and when he was about to take off his bandage again, the executioner struck off his head. His body is to be conveyed to Biron." (Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 128 et seq.—ED.

* Guy Eder de Beaumanoir, Baron of Fontenelles, was a gentleman of Brittany. He was convicted of having intended to deliver up the fort of Douarnenes to the Spaniards, for which he was drawn upon a sledge, and broke alive in the Place de Grève. "The king," says M. de Pèrefixe, "in consideration of his family, which was very illustrious, granted to his relations that, in the arrêt, he should not be called by his own name: but history could not conceal it." M. de Thou (liv. cxxviii.) speaks of him as of a fellow who had been employed in Brittany by the League.

† According to Siri, there was something more than mere suspicions against the Constable de Montmorency, and even against the Duke de Montpensier. (Mem. recond. vol. i. p. 103.)

the confidence of Biron, and represented to them so plainly that all they had now to do was to throw themselves at the king's feet, and implore his pardon, that almost all pursued this method: the secrecy which I promised them will not permit me to mention their names here, and, far from having any cause to repent of a step, of which the king and myself only were witnesses, they were soon convinced that his majesty not only took care to show he had no resentment against them, but likewise appeared to hold them in higher esteem than before.

Herbert, who was secretary to the party, and had been several times sent into Milan, and throughout all Italy by Marshal Biron, was likewise arrested. I was ordered to interrogate him in the presence of the Count of Auvergne, and to receive his depositions, the king having promised him a pardon, upon condition that he sincerely declared all he knew. The principal discovery he made, and that which gave the fullest conviction of the perfidy of Spain, was, that Roncas and Alphonso Cazal had been sent by that court, at different times, with large sums of money to Marshal Biron. To convince Herbert that his majesty had no design to deceive him, before I began to examine him I delivered his pardon, signed by the king, into the hands of the Count of Auvergne.

The Baron de Lux was not excepted out of the general amnesty; his perplexity, when he heard of the imprisonment of his friend, had been very great, because he found it as dangerous to leave as to stay in the kingdom: he was still undetermined what to do, when La Plume came from his majesty with an order to attend him, promising him his pardon at the same time, if he would endeavour to deserve it by his obedience and repentance. De Lux, sensible of his guilt, was now more alarmed than before; yet he told the messenger that he was ready to obey the king's orders, provided he would assure him that he should not be exposed to the shame of a public examination, nor be confronted with his accusers; that he should be continued in his post,* and permitted to retire from court after his confession. He was afraid of being detained, under pretence that it was either not full enough, or insincere. There being no letter from his

* He was governor of the castle of Dijon and the town of Beaune.

majesty, De Lux appeared contented with a promise under my hand that he should receive no harm.

The king having granted all that the Baron de Lux demanded, he came to Paris, and meeting his majesty as he was going to hunt, threw himself at his feet, and was beginning a long speech, when the king, who had not then leisure to hear him, stopped him short, by saying: "Go to Monsieur de Rosny, and I will talk to you afterwards." This order, the tone with which De Lux fancied it was given, and the place to which he was sent, raised such apprehensions in his mind, that he was upon the point of making his escape. However, he came to the Arsenal, but under such terrors that, instead of listening to anything I said to him, he was continually looking round him, and his apprehensions were increased when he saw his majesty's guards enter and file off in the court of the Arsenal, the king having sent them thither because he intended to pass by the Arsenal in his return from the chase. De Lux now thought himself lost. "Ah! sir," said he to me, "I came hither upon the king's word and yours; do you intend to detain me?" "Why do you ask me this question, sir?" said I. "The guards," said he, "which I perceive entering in files, persuade me that it is not the king who is coming, but that they are probably sent for me." Without giving me time to undeceive him, he entreated me to allow him to speak to the king before he was confined, promising, and I believe very sincerely, to conceal nothing from him. "I have observed your uneasiness," replied I, "but be not afraid; I have no orders to arrest you; speak freely to the king, swear to be faithful to him, and keep your oath, you will then have nothing to apprehend: had the Duke of Biron acted in that manner, he would have been now alive." That moment a messenger informed me that the king was returned to the Louvre, and desired to speak with me: the evening was so far advanced before the chase was ended, that, instead of coming to the Arsenal as he had proposed, he went directly to the palace. This message relieved the Baron de Lux from his terrors. The next day he had a conference with his majesty, which lasted above four hours; he gave no cause for accusing him of indiscretion in concealing his accomplices, but named such a prodigious number of persons, that Henry, glad to find in such general

accusations a pretence for believing none, and for making himself easy, treated all those whom De Lux accused, and who were continually about him, no less favourably than before. It is certain, however, that many of them were acquainted with Marshal Biron's designs, but the hope of remaining unnoticed amongst the crowd determined them not to own their connexions with him, notwithstanding all the advances and promises which I made them. The constable had indeed kept up a sort of intimacy with Biron, which in prudence ought to have been avoided; but, as I was persuaded that it was merely personal, and extended no further, I thought myself obliged to justify him to his majesty, on whom his assurances of fidelity made so little impression, that he could not help regarding him with an eye of suspicion. I may say with truth, that my endeavours did not a little contribute towards restoring him to the king's favour; and this prince had no reason to repent of his clemency, either to him or any of the others,* except only the Count of Auvergne, to whom it is time to return.

The nature of the crime which he, as well as Marshal Biron, had committed, and the equality of the proofs against them, made it highly probable that their punishment would be alike; however, their fates were very different: the king not only gave the count his life, which he caused to be intimated to him by the constable, but also softened as much as possible the inconvenience of his imprisonment. He permitted him to agree with the lieutenant of the Bastille for his table, discharged him of the expense of the officers and soldiers appointed for his guard, and reduced them afterwards to five, comprehending the exempt, upon my representations

* It is not certain that Henry IV. never had reason to repent of this indulgence. As to the assassination of this prince, there remain a great many doubts, the clearing of which becomes more and more difficult: but by supposing what is very likely—namely, that the blow which took off Henry IV. did not proceed from the conspiracy here spoken of, we may still believe that this catastrophe had not happened if the conspirators had been prosecuted with more severity: in this case it must be allowed that Henry IV. and M. de Rosny were deceived by their too great lenity, of which the prince became the victim. What the author says a few lines higher of those who boldly concealed themselves among the crowd, sufficiently shows that the spirit of revolt was not extinguished by the death of its head.

that a greater number was useless. At first, indeed, he was not allowed to walk upon the terraces, but afterwards he was indulged in all his desires, and at length wholly discharged from his confinement.* He had been so little accustomed to be treated as a criminal, that when he was told the king had granted him his life, he said it signified nothing, unless he gave him his liberty likewise.

Those who praise alike the good or bad actions of kings, will not want arguments to justify Henry in this different treatment of two persons equally guilty; they will allege, as it was then reported at court, that the services his majesty might expect from the Count of Auvergne, in discovering to him the plots of the Spanish party against France, made it necessary to pardon him, for his own interest. For my own part, I am too candid not to confess that, on this occasion, the king gave no proof of his clemency, but of his passion for the Marchioness of Verneuil, sister to the Count of Auvergne, which was the sole cause of the indulgence he showed to the count. However, I concealed my thoughts with great care, and during two years never mentioned a word to the king upon the subject, being persuaded that all the arguments I could use at the time would have no force against the prayers and tears of a mistress; and when the thing was done, it was to no purpose to show him his error. It was not till after the Count of Auvergne had, by new instances of ingratitude, obliged his benefactor to proceed against him as a criminal, that I just hinted my thoughts of his former conduct, and then I was forced to it by the king himself.

One day, when the king and I were alone, the conversation turned upon this subject; and Henry, after looking at me silently for some time, at length told me that he had been often greatly surprised at my not asking him his reasons for preserving the Count of Auvergne. I replied, that I had thought it my duty to keep my conjectures on that head to myself, among which there were two that appeared to me to be the most probable, but that I never chose to explain myself to his majesty for fear of offending him. Henry answered

* In the beginning of October. "It was not," says La Septennaire, "without having first made an open confession to Messieurs the Chancellor, De Sillery, and Rosny."

immediately, with his usual vivacity, that he could easily guess that one of the motives to which I attributed the favour he had shown the prisoner regarded the Marchioness of Verneuil; and assured me that that alone would never have been sufficient to have induced him to grant him both his life and liberty; but that he was absolutely ignorant of the second, to which I supposed his deliverance had been owing, and pressed me repeatedly to tell him what it was. I confessed to him that it had been always my opinion that his majesty would not inflict a shameful death upon a man who would be always considered as the uncle of his children, in case he should have any by the Marchioness of Verneuil. Henry swore to me that he had not carried his reflections so far, although that consideration, if it had occurred to him, would have had great weight with him; and he insisted upon my guessing, in my turn, the true reason that had induced him to set Auvergne at liberty: he again repeated to me, that the solicitations of his mistress, the entreaties of the constable, his three daughters, and of Ventadour, who had all thrown themselves at his feet, had not had so great a share in that resolution as I imagined, they having contented themselves with asking only the life of the prisoner. And at length, after all this winding, he declared to me that his chief inducement to pardon Auvergne was the great promises he made him, and the air of sincerity with which these promises were accompanied. He then related to me all that had passed between himself and Auvergne, when the latter implored the favour of a conference with him: he told me that the count, after many assurances of a sincere repentance, and protestations of inviolable fidelity for the future, had promised him, with the most sacred oaths, if he would restore him to liberty, to procure him intelligence of the most secret resolutions that were taken in the councils of Spain, to accomplish which he had only to resume, in appearance, his former engagements with that court, well knowing how to deceive them, and to make them receive as true what on his side would be only feigned: but that this dissimulation might not, in Spain, draw upon him the punishment of a traitor, it was necessary that his majesty should not reveal to any of his ministers what he then said, nor take umbrage at his journeys to Spain, nor the packets he should receive from thence.

The king, after this recital, added, that it was with difficulty he could bring himself to believe the promises Auvergne made him, or suppose that he could debase himself so low as to take up the trade of a spy, and become a double traitor; but that after the count had assured him he really meant to perform all he had engaged to do, although he hated him more than ever, yet he was determined to wait the effect of his promises, and make use of him to procure such intelligence concerning the proceedings of Spain as he could obtain by no other means; and in this expectation he had promised Auvergne secrecy, and the other conditions he had demanded.

The conclusion I came to upon what the king told me, was, that he was every way deceived by the Count of Auvergne, or rather, I repeat it again, betrayed by his passion for his mistress; this was the fascination that closed his eyes upon the artifice of the count; and after having prevailed upon him to spare his life, snatched from him likewise the grant of his liberty, and that upon so slight a foundation as does little honour to the prudence of Henry. It is not clear, indeed, whether Auvergne had not then an inclination to keep his word, but, by suffering himself to be seduced a second time, he became once more a traitor to his prince.

It cannot be denied that the count was ingenious, subtle, penetrating, and naturally eloquent; qualities very fit for the part he had undertaken to act; but, not to mention his ambition, his inclination to debauchery, and other dangerous passions, he had in his heart such a fund of malice and perfidiousness, that it was easy to see he would resume his former dispositions; but he resumed them with so much address, that the king did not perceive when it happened, taking it for granted that it did not happen the very moment he found himself secure. He often conferred with his majesty concerning the King of Spain, and related very bad things of him, the better to play his part; but all he said might be reduced to matters of little consequence; while to the court of Spain he gave very exact and very material information of everything that passed in France. I shall return to him again in another place.

The Prince of Joinville,* to whom Henry likewise extended

* Claude de Lorraine, fourth son to Henry, Duke of Guise, who was killed at Blois; he was afterwards Duke of Chevreuse, and died in 1657.

his clemency, was a young man of a different character; nothing could be more light, more whimsical, and more unsteady; he had engaged himself with bad company, among whom, to be in the fashion, and to appear a man of consequence, it was necessary that he should have correspondence without the kingdom; this was sufficient to ruin him entirely. His majesty being informed that he carried on his intrigues with Spain by the Count of Chamnite, governor of Franche-Comté for the King of Spain, and one of his ministers, he ordered him to be arrested. As soon as he found himself in custody, he, like all the others, declared that he was ready to make a full confession, provided it was to the king in person, and that I should be present. I had left Paris in the evening, to visit my new acquisition of Sully, and to trace out the plan of some buildings there, to render it more habitable than it was at present. I had just arrived, and was preparing to sit down to supper, when I heard his majesty's postilion blow his horn, and immediately suspected my stay at Sully would not be long. He gave me a note from the king, which contained only an order to come to him, without explaining himself any further. Believing the business to be of the utmost importance, I set out so early the next morning that I only saw Sully by the light of the flambeaux. When I was made acquainted with the affair, I thought it my duty to intercede for an inexperienced youth, who was drawn into errors by his rashness and folly. Joinville being brought before us, confessed all he was desired to do. The king, entering immediately into his character, treated him as he deserved; he sent for his mother, the Duchess of Guise, and the duke his brother, and taking them into his closet, "Here," said he, "is the prodigal son himself; I shall use him like a child, and pardon him for yours and Monsieur de Rosny's sake, who has interceded for him; but I do it upon condition that you will all three reprove him severely, and that you, nephew," he added, turning to the Duke of Guise, "will answer for his conduct for the future; I deliver him up to your care: make him wise if it be possible." This change was not so easy a thing to effect on a young man of lively passions, incapable of instruction, and whose disposition had already taken its bent. He was suffered to remain in prison for some months, where at first he was obstinately

sullen, then insolent and furious, and, at last, through mere weariness, promised to behave well if he were taken from thence. The king consented to his removal, and he was told that he might go and live in the Castle of Dampièrre. Joinville was not much better pleased with this place than his prison, and represented to the king that he could not reside in a castle which was not furnished. Unfortunately for him, the king knew this to be a falsehood; for having often hunted near that castle and Chevreuse, which is but a small distance from it, the keeper of these two places had offered to accommodate him with apartments and beds there; and he had been told by the Duchess of Guise that Dampièrre was as well furnished as Chevreuse. This behaviour of Joinville so incensed the king against him, that he reproached me for the too great interest I took in the affairs of that family, and ordered me to concern myself less with them for the future; and instead of revoking his sentence, he now declared that the prisoner should be again examined before he was enlarged. This renewed Joinville's former fears; he promised to make a fuller confession than he had yet done; but being, as he said, apprehensive that his majesty was still angry with him, he again entreated that I might be the person to whom he spoke.

The Duke of Bouillon took care not to return from his estates, as he had promised the king; therefore, after Biron was arrested, his majesty judged it necessary to write to him, to see if upon this occasion he would not give some proof of his connexion with the prisoner. He informed him that Marshal Biron had been convicted of conspiring against the State; and that when he came to court, he would show him the proofs of his treason, and acquaint him with all the particulars of it, satisfying himself with thus insinuating that he expected the performance of his promise, without giving him a direct order to come. The Duke of Bouillon easily comprehended the design of this letter, and answered it no otherwise than by sending a gentleman of his retinue immediately to his majesty to congratulate him upon the danger he had escaped. By this person he sent a letter to me, in which he carefully avoided saying anything of which the least advantage could be taken, either because he had already learnt that his associate was seized, or that his imagination suggested to him

immediately the behaviour which it was proper for him to assume. He told me, that never had any one's astonishment equalled his, when he learned that the State and the king's person had been in danger; that his fidelity, and the readiness he showed to go to every place where his duty and the king's service called him, would, he hoped, convince his majesty that he should never have the like reason to be apprehensive of him; and that he would expect the king's orders and my good advice, that he might obey the one and follow the other: the whole letter was conceived in terms such as these. He could not, however, avoid hinting something in favour of the accused, but in a manner so general as could not hurt him. After expressing his wishes that this event might not give his majesty any disturbance, he added these words, "nor alter the natural sweetness of his disposition."

The king, when I showed him this letter, thought he might make use of it to draw Bouillon to court, for he durst not send him an absolute command to come, lest, by a refusal, he should lay himself under the necessity of punishing him for his disobedience by the force of arms, which he neither chose nor could conveniently do; he therefore told me, that since Bouillon asked my advice concerning what it was proper for him to do in this conjuncture, I should reply, that it was true the king had been informed he was not wholly unacquainted with Marshal de Biron's intrigues, but that this ought to strengthen his resolution of coming to his majesty, either to justify his innocence, or, by confessing his fault, to obtain a pardon for it; and that I should assure him that I would give him my word, or, if necessary, become his surety; that so far from having anything to fear, he should be received by the king with open arms. Henry, knowing my delicacy on these occasions, prevented my scruples, by telling me that he would engage his royal word that Bouillon should be treated in whatever manner I promised him: and not satisfied with this verbal assurance, he gave me a writing conceived in these terms: "I promise to M. de Rosny, that if the Duke of Bouillon comes to court upon his letters and the promises he shall make him, I will observe them all faithfully, or give the duke free leave to retire wherever he pleases; and neither in his journey to or from the court shall he receive any molestation; for all which

I engage my faith and royal word to the said M. de Rosny.—Given at Paris, June 24, 1602."

I wrote to the Duke of Bouillon, and, without telling him of the engagement his majesty had entered into with me concerning him, pressed him in the strongest terms, and by every argument I thought could have any weight with him, to come and settle for some time at court. This letter Bouillon received almost at the same time with the verbal answer the king sent him by his deputy, and took occasion, from his majesty's not having himself pressed him to come, to tell me in answer, that the advice I gave him being inconsistent with the king's orders, he could not govern himself by it, whatever inclination he might have to do so; and that he would content himself with sending to court, as his majesty required, a person who should give as satisfactory an account of his conduct as he himself could do, and who ought to be equally depended upon. This person was a gentleman named Rignac, who accordingly came to court about the same time that I received Bouillon's answer to my letter, and whose expenses were all defrayed, as if his journey had been of great importance, because, in appearance, he came by his majesty's orders: but the Duke of Bouillon, instead of coming himself, removed still further from court, and went to Castres.

I am not surprised that my arguments had, on this occasion, so little weight with him, since he regarded me as his enemy, and did not scruple to call me so in public; nor was the king ignorant that this was his opinion, having informed me of it himself in a letter dated the 28th day of December this year: nor was I more surprised at the manner in which the Duke of Bouillon acted with his majesty. As soon as he perceived (which was no difficult matter for him to do) that the king had recourse to dissimulation with him, he supposed it easy enough to impose upon his majesty and his council without risking any danger; for this purpose all that was necessary was to answer, in appearance,* always

* The Duke of Bouillon's letters to the king we find in the third volume of Villeroy's Memoires d'Etat, p. 158 et seq. See likewise the reasons which the historians of his life adduced to clear him of the accusation of having been concerned in Marshal de Biron's plot, his refusing to come and wait upon the king, and his flight to Castres. (Liv. v. p. 222 et seq.)

with great submission, without taking any of those measures which they durst not formally prescribe to him. This artifice succeeded so well, that he made use of it a long time. Nothing could be conceived in more modest or respectful terms than the letter he wrote on this subject to Du Maurier; and which, after his majesty had perused it, was given to me to be communicated to the chancellor and the Duke of Epernon, with whom, by the king's orders, I treated this affair methodically. The king strongly interested himself in it, and had a conference with Constant and Saint-Aubin about the Duke of Bouillon, which lasted a whole afternoon, but it produced nothing.

The game which upon this occasion was played by the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy was still more uncommon. All the foreign powers in alliance with Henry, more especially England and Scotland, whose ambassadors were still at Paris, congratulated his majesty upon his having so happily crushed this dangerous conspiracy. Philip and Charles Emanuel appeared more eager than any of the others to compliment the king upon this event: unless fear was their motive, it is not easy to guess what could have induced them to have recourse to so gross an artifice. Henry was more sincere with them; he signified to them that he was well informed of the part they both had in the plot; all the blame of which they threw upon the Count of Fuentes, as boldly as if it had been possible to have persuaded him that this Spaniard would have dared, without their permission, to act in concert with Biron and the other conspirators.

The king, some days after the execution of Marshal Biron, coming to the Arsenal, I had a conversation with him, which well deserves to be related. "You see," said he to me, after making some reflections, as usual, upon the ingratitude of Messieurs de Biron, d'Auvergne, de Bouillon, and other three of the most considerable noblemen of the court, whom he had pardoned, and whose names he mentioned,—"you see that those on whom I have bestowed the greatest favours are the same persons by whose ambition and caprice I have suffered the most." He then observed to me that these six men had, at different times, received larger sums from him than the five kings his predecessors, except Henry III., who had been accused of such great prodigality, had given to

their favourites. Henry added, that, to silence those who always unreasonably enumerated the services of these six noblemen, he would have me draw up a memorial of all the rewards they had received from him since they had entered into his service; in which he did not pretend to include anything but those presents that his liberality only had induced him to make them, and not such possessions as they had acquired by his assistance, and enjoyed through his protection; such, for example, was the principality of Sedan, for which Bouillon was doubly obliged to him, having first procured it, and then secured him the possession of it, as has been seen, on an occasion sufficiently perplexing.*

The king, whose sole view in entering upon this subject was to make a particular application of it to me, told me, that by this discourse, which might have some relation to the present state of my fortune, he had no intention to give me a lesson, being too well persuaded of my fidelity to think there was any occasion for it; but that having seriously reflected upon the manner in which it was necessary he should behave to me, that he might not expose himself to the mortification of seeing the confidence he had in me lessened, he thought prudence required that he should take two precautions with respect to me, in the rewards my services and family deserved from him: "One of these precautions," continued the king, "has a reference to the world, the other to myself: first, that these rewards should neither succeed each other so rapidly, nor in themselves be so excessive, as to render you the object of public hatred, always ready to break out against first ministers; and the second, that these estates and these honours should be of such a nature as, if it should happen that through religion, or any other motive, you should be capable of violating your duty, they may not put you into a condition of giving any umbrage to your benefactor himself, or, after his death, of disturbing the tranquillity of his successor, or of putting the State in danger: in one word," said he (after giving me to understand that, as he spoke without any disguise, he would permit me to tell him my sentiments freely likewise), "I would take from myself the least occasion of suspicion

* See vol. i. p. 416.

against you, that my friendship for you may continue unalterable. I daily experience so many instances of ingratitude, which I never expected, that, contrary to my inclinations, I am obliged to be distrustful. Do not imagine, therefore, that I will put you in possession of great cities and strong fortresses, which, in the high credit you are in, and the great abilities you are master of, might make you independent of me, and enable you, whenever you pleased, to throw the kingdom into confusion. I cannot do more for you than ought to be done for a servant, however faithful he may be, by a prince who has his honour, his reputation, and the interest of his people at heart."

Henry, without giving me time to reply, added, that till proper opportunities offered for completing my fortune, he, from this moment, would join to my salaries and pensions, which were only sufficient to answer the expenses of my table and house, an extraordinary gratuity of sixty thousand livres a year; that, by uniting this sum to my own estate, I might purchase more lands, build upon them, furnish and embellish my new houses, and settle my children more advantageously; telling me graciously that he still reserved to himself to give me other proofs of his friendship and liberality: "And this," pursued he, "I shall do with the more willingness, as I am assured you will not squander these sums foolishly on entertainments, dogs, horses, birds, and mistresses."

During this long discourse of Henry's, my mind was agitated with various thoughts, which made me listen to him in silence; the reflections it occasioned left me still more moved with his freedom and the confidence he reposed in me than discontented with a caution which many others, in my situation, would have thought excessive. The king having commanded me to be very sincere in my reply, I told him, that, although I had at this moment an absolute certainty in my own mind that neither his majesty, nor his successors, nor the State, would ever have any cause for those apprehensions of me which his wisdom had suggested, yet I myself did not think he carried it too far; it being, in my opinion, one of the chief maxims of government, that a prince ought never to deliver himself up blindly to one person, whatever services he may have received from him, since it is next to

impossible that any one should be able to answer for the wisdom and justness of his councils for the future; therefore, instead of thinking myself injured, I found cause, in all his majesty had said, to admire his prudence, and to acknowledge his goodness, since whatever bounds he should prescribe to his favours, they would always equally exceed my expectations and my services.

As I could not doubt but that the malignant insinuations of the courtiers, who were jealous of my favour with his majesty, had some share in those fears he expressed of me, I seized this opportunity to explain myself on an article which, from this moment, I foresaw I should be under a necessity of returning to more than once. I begged his majesty would permit me to represent to him that he ought not to give faith to the poisonous reports of informers, without having first had good proofs of my crime, and giving me an opportunity of defending myself. I assured him that he would find me sincere enough to confess my faults, which alone deserved that he should treat me in this manner; and that he should be convinced that what my enemies imputed to criminal views, could but at most amount to a failing, which I would not scruple to confess that instant, and for which I had some occasion for his indulgence; and this was, that, through impatience of any obstacle or delay in any resolution that I judged necessary to be taken, some words of complaint or anger might escape me against the too easy disposition of his majesty, of which my enemies would not fail to take advantage, although the purity of my intentions might be easily perceived in the words themselves which served for a foundation for the calumny.

What I then said to the king I now repeat to my readers, and not through an affectation of modesty, which may hold the place of justification—I am conscious I have no occasion for it; but because that, however irreproachable my conduct may have been, I have, nevertheless, been more than once obliged to clear myself to the prince whom I served; if this confession does not hinder them from denying me that justice I have merited, it will not make them judge less favourably of Henry, if they attend to the conjunctures and maxims of the times in which we both lived. And at all times, there is nothing against which it is so difficult to de-

fend one's self, as the secret machinations of envious courtiers: what effect might they not be expected to produce in the mind of a prince who could collect a thousand examples of treachery, disloyalty, and disobedience to himself, and hardly one of real attachment! To judge clearly of the sentiments which Henry entertained for me, we must not consider him in those moments when the remembrance of so many instances of ingratitude, awakened by the most artful impostures, opened his heart, in spite of him, to distrust and suspicion; but when recovered from those impressions which the plots they endeavoured to involve me in had made on his mind, he gave me the sincerest proofs of his tenderness and esteem. The world, therefore, may judge as it pleases of those little disgraces which I have been obliged to sustain during the course of what will be called my glory and prosperity, and which, probably, any other might have suppressed, for the honour of having it said that he directed as he pleased the inclinations of his master: on this subject I shall use neither disguise nor concealment, for truth is my guide, and instruction is my end.

The Duke of Luxemburg having had a cause brought before the parliament this year, the advocates who pleaded for him had the assurance to exact fifteen hundred crowns for their fees. The duke complained of this extortion to the king, who ordered the parliament to issue out an arrêt, by which the lawyers' fees were reduced and settled, and they obliged to give receipts for all the money they received, and a general receipt for whatever papers were put into their hands, that they might be constrained to deliver up these, which they generally kept till their demands were satisfied. The necessity of putting a curb to the avarice of these people had always appeared so strong that the States had already given the same orders,* but to no purpose. The parliament granted the arrêt that was demanded of them, but the lawyers, instead of submitting to it, went, three or four hundred of them, to return into the public register the ensigns of their office, which produced a total cessation of all law proceedings. There was almost a general murmur throughout Paris, particularly among pragmatical coxcombs and

* Ordonnance de Blois, art. 162.

badauds,* a set of wretches with which the town is crowded, who taking upon them to be wiser than the king, the peers, and the States of the kingdom, decided against them in favour of the advocates,† and found some abettors even at court, who, with so much power and art, exaggerated an evil, petty in itself and easily remedied, that the king was overwhelmed with their clamours, and began to be in pain about the consequences.

While this affair was yet in agitation, his majesty being one day in his closet conversing with some of the courtiers, and relating the continual solicitations that were made him in favour of the advocates, "Faith, Sire, I am not surprised at it," said Sigogne, raising his voice, and assuming the air of one in a violent passion; "these men make it plainly appear that they know not how to employ their time, since they disturb themselves so much about a trifle. To hear their exclamations, one would think the State would be ruined without these brawlers: as if the kingdom, under Charlemagne and so many other great kings, during whose reigns neither advocates nor attorneys were heard of, was not in as flourishing a condition as it is at present, when we are devoured by these vermin." Sigogne afterwards, to prove that the establishment of advocates in France was not very ancient, produced the register of the chancery, of which the first paper is entitled, "A Permission to Plead Causes by an Advocate;" and, perceiving that he was listened to with pleasure, he added that this science was established to the ruin of the nobility and the people, and the destruction of trade and agriculture. "There is not," said he, "any artist, or even any simple labourer, that is not of more use to the community than this swarm of men, who enrich themselves by our follies, and the artifices they have invented to stifle truth, throw down all right, and darken reason. If we are so

* Such as are styled cockneys in London.

† Matthieu, in relating this incident (tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 478), seems in like manner to take the part of the advocates, and yet, for all this, every good man must be of the Duke of Sully's opinion. In the sequel of these Memoirs, he proposes the means of considerably diminishing the number of processes; and it is for this that endeavours ought, indeed, to be chiefly used for business, to remedy the abuses of which he complains.

blind," continued he, with a vivacity truly diverting, "that we will not, and so unhappy that we cannot, do without them, nothing remains to be done but to command them to resume the exercise of their employment, within eight days at furthest, upon the conditions prescribed by the court, under pain of being obliged to return to the shop or the plough which they have quitted, or else to serve the State in Flanders with a musket upon their shoulders. I'll answer for it, if this method be taken with them, we shall soon see them run with eagerness to resume these magnificent ensigns, like vermin towards a heap of wheat."

There was not one in the company who could forbear smiling at this lively sally of Sigogne, and the king was among the first, and confessed that his arguments were very convincing; but whether it was that he suffered himself to be overcome by the solicitations* that were made him, or alarmed by the fears of the consequences that might attend his joining this new disorder to those troubles by which the kingdom was then agitated, or that, as he afterwards declared, he had reserved to himself the making one day such a general regulation in this affair, that not only the advocates, but the attorneys and the whole body of the law should be comprehended in it, he consented that the arrêt should, for this time, continue without effect; and thus was this ludicrous business terminated, for reflections upon which I refer the reader to Sigogne's own words: so the world was left to think that it was I who made him speak them.†

* The medium made use of by the king's people, who secretly favoured the advocates in this affair, was, that the king should send new letters to the parliament, whereby the advocates were ordered to resume and continue their functions, on condition, however, of obeying the arrêts of parliament, and the ordinances of the States. But, as these letters did at the same time allow them to make such remonstrances as they should think reasonable with regard to the exercise of their several employments, and as they were particularly assured that they might act as before, they had no difficulty to submit thereto. (De Thou, liv. cxxviii.; Chron. Sept. an. 1602.)

† Le Journal d'Henri IV. relates a little piece of history which I shall set down here. Henry, when hunting once on the side of Grosbois, quitted his company, as he frequently did, and came by himself to Cretcil, a league on the other side of the bridge of Charenton, and that at noonday, and as hungry as a hunter. Going into an inn, he inquired of the landlady if she had anything for him to eat, to which

This naturally leads me to take notice of the great law-suit commenced this year by the third estate of Dauphiny, against the clergy and nobility, upon the manner in which the taxes were settled and assized in this province. Myself, together with thirteen other commissioners, chosen amongst persons of the highest distinction in the kingdom, were named to take cognisance of it, but it was six years before it could be decided; the animosity between the parties concerned was so great that there was a necessity for sending the second time to obtain information on the spot. I took a more speedy method to bring a man named Jousseaume to justice; he had been a receiver-general in the revenue, and, becoming a bankrupt, had carried off a great deal of the royal money. I caused him to be seized at Milan, whither he had retired, and he was hanged on a gibbet. All crimes that draw along with them the ruin of a multitude of families cannot be too severely punished. The king again showed himself solicitous for the interest of his finances, in the affair of the receivers and treasurers-general of Burgundy. Some drafts had been made on them for the charges of garrisons and works of fortifications which they had not paid, either through negligence, or with a bad design. I advised his majesty to send thither a commissioner, on whose probity he could depend; he did so, and he began by suspending those men from their employments, and performed himself the duties of treasurer. The money that was expended upon this occasion was raised out of the salaries of these receivers and treasurers, "that I," said Henry, "may not pay the

she answered, "No," and that he was come too late, taking him only for a private gentleman. Henry then asked her, "For whom is this roast meat I see at the fire?" "For some gentlemen," replied she, "that are above, and whom I take to be solicitors." The king sent, in a civil manner, to ask them to let him have a piece of their roast meat, or to give him leave to sit at one end of their table upon paying for it, both which they refused him. Upon this, Henry sent privately for Vitry, and eight or ten more of his attendants, whom he ordered to seize the solicitors, and carry them away to Grosbois to have them well whipped, to teach them more complaisance to gentlemen another time. "This the said Sieur Vitry saw punctually and speedily performed," says the author, "notwithstanding all the arguments, entreaties, and remonstrances of the lawyers."

penalty for the fault they have committed against my service and their duty."

To prevent the exportation of gold and silver coin, I found a method less tedious and severe than punishments and confiscations, which was only to raise their value,* there being

* The crown called écu d'or au soleil, which was valued at sixty sols tournois, was raised to sixty-five; that called écu pistolet, of fifty-eight sols, to sixty-two; and so of the other gold specie: the silver franc of twenty sols was raised one sol and four deniers, and the rest in proportion. It was in the month of September that this double ordonnance passed about the raising the value of money, and the re-establishing of reckoning by livres; for the reckoning by erowns had only taken place about twenty-five years before—that is, since the ordonnance of 1577, which had abrogated the reekoning by livres. Matthieu very highly approves of both these regulations of the Duke of Sully. (Tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 540.) Le Blane, on the contrary, says (pp. 351, 372 et seq.), that whatever cogent reasons they might have had for abrogating the famous ordonnance of 1577, it was very ill done, either with regard to the money itself, because the gold and silver specie were afterwards raised as much in seven years alone as they had been during the space of seventy-five years before; or with regard to commerce, because that goods and merchandise were proportionably enhaneed in their prices. The opinion of this last writer seems to me to be grounded upon stronger reasons. The reckoning by crowns had been in favour of those who had their revenues in silver, those who improved their money in the public funds and otherwise, and those who sold goods upon credit, payable at a certain time: the ordonnance of 1577 secured the effeets of a considerable number of the natives; and besides, if there had been any confusion found in the coin, this neither was, nor could be, the cause of it, but only the miserable condition into which the civil wars had redueed France. The Duke of Sully projected the two regulations here spoken of, to prevent those disorders, which were, according to him, the too great plenty of foreign specie, that in commerce occupied the place of our own; secondly, the enhancement of the price of merchants' goods; and lastly, the exportation of the gold and silver coin to our neighbours. It was equally easy to have made him sensible that his complaints, in all these respects, signified nothing, any more than the remedy which he applied to them. We have already shown, a little higher, in what way it is that this quantity of foreign coin, which abounds in our commerce, is an advantage; and if it could be called an evil, the augmentation of the nominal value of coin, in reckonings, to which he has recourse, would be more proper to heighten than lessen it. As to the raising of the price of goods, the same augmentation could not but make way for it still more; and the reason for obviating it, which he draws from the eomputation by livres, will appear to every one very insufficient, and even frivolous. Moreover, it appears

no reason why they should be carried out of the kingdom, but that they would pass for more in the neighbouring countries

to me that the enhancing of the price of goods follows as a necessary consequence and effect of the multiplication of gold and silver in Europe since the discovery of America. In order to prevent it, we must have prohibited all commerce, not only with Spain, whose mines furnish us now with these metals, but also with all our own neighbours, among whom they circulate as well as among us. A State that should be conducted upon this principle would make the same figure among the other States of Europe, as the republic of Lacedæmon did with respect to the rest of Greece. The only thing to be attended to, and which is of very great consequence, is, that all the merchandise and goods, and generally whatever constitutes a part of commerce, should rise at the same time and in the same proportion in value. If the production of manufactures be enhanced without raising the price of corn, for example, then agriculture is neglected. If the wages of journeymen be not proportioned the one to the other, those people can no longer live and pay the taxes. As to the exporting of coin out of the kingdom, which seems to have been the chief view of the Duke of Sully, it is true that the augmentation of its current value in reckoning might, in some measure, prevent it, by annihilating or diminishing the profit of the dealers in bullion; and apparently this was the only reason that determined him. The narrow views of his age, with regard to the finances, and still more as to commerce, did not allow him to see that he destroyed a slight corruption by one a great deal more considerable, nor suffer him to go up to the source of the evil: he would have perceived that the advantage of commerce, and consequently the greatest quantity of gold and silver, will remain in that nation which shall have made all others depend most upon them for riches, either natural or acquired; and that as long as the balance of trade shall be in favour of some one neighbouring nation, this prohibition of exporting gold and silver is neither reasonable nor practicable. At present, when we begin to see a little more clearly into these matters, there is no one but agrees that all these regulations, and this whole train of reasoning, did not reach the end proposed. Though the exigency of circumstances, which is almost endless, does not permit either the providing against, or the subjecting everything to a single rule, we may, however, aver, that on the article of money and commerce there are two general and very simple maxims which may be looked upon as invariable; and these are, to avoid, with the greatest care imaginable, meddling with the coin, and endeavour continually to render the French as laborious, industrious, and frugal as possible. The frequent variations in the coin give mortal wounds both to domestic and foreign trade, by the extinction of credit, the shutting up of private purses, the embarrassment and disadvantage of exchange, and the ruin of estates: all this is palpable and obvious. To this we may add, that the king, who appears to be the only one who gains by such proceedings, to put the case impartially, always loses considerably more thereby than he gains; besides that, the insolvency of his subjects is an evil which he always

than at home. At the same time I settled, throughout the kingdom, the way of reckoning by livres instead of crowns,

shares with them, and even feels much longer than they do; all his expenses increase with the coin, so as not to be diminished even when that does. The other principle has still less need of proof. It seems that nature has reserved to France the sovereignty of trade, from the advantage of her situation and the richness of her soil, which obliges a great part of her neighbours to have recourse to her for all those things that supply the first and essential necessaries of life: she has no more to do than to share, at least equally with them, in the commerce of all those things that serve but for mere convenience, or which luxury has introduced into Europe. If the consumption of the latter should exceed the produce of the former, we shall complain unjustly of our condition; for to pretend to hinder the exportation of our materials of gold and silver to foreigners, when we are ourselves indebted to these foreigners, is endeavouring to make the effect cease, without removing the cause; but to set a Frenchman to commerce that is carried on by sea, to manufactures and arts, to hinder him as much as possible from expending too much on things that come from abroad, and which are but superfluities, and, on the other hand, to increase his own riches by encouraging the cultivation of his lands; this is what we may truly call promoting the interest of trade. Besides Le Blanc and Matthieu, consult on the subject of this note De Thou (liv. xxix.), Le Grain (liv. viii.), Pèrefixe, and other writers of that time, in order to find out the history of these regulations of the finances and commerce; for in reality the reasonings of these writers on this whole matter are but little satisfactory: we might well say of them what the Duke of Sully said of the parliament of Paris, "They are masters of arts which none of them know anything of." (Memoires pour l'Hist. de France.) As M. de Sully treats no more of money, I will supply that part from the same Memoirs (tom. ii. p. 275 et seq.); though this writer seems not even to understand the state of the question, and speaks not very favourably of the king and his ministers. "At that time," says he, speaking of all the deliberations which were entered into upon this subject in 1609, "there was brought upon the carpet, and proposed to the council, a new edict for the coin, which they wanted to diminish and alter—that is, to raise its value, and by the same means to ruin the people. Every one murmured at this proposal: the king alone finding his account in it, laughed at it, and at all the world, even at his own ministers, and their remonstrances, as he did at the first president of the Mint (William Le Clere), who being disconcerted in his speech, having been twice interrupted by his majesty breaking into a fit of laughter, which made him stop short in the middle thereof; and upon his majesty observing it, he says to him, 'Go on, Mr. President, for I am not laughing at you, but at my cousin, the Count of Soissons, who is near me, and tells me that he smells a shoulder of mutton.' This second stroke struck him quite dumb. Upon which the king, falling into a fit of laughter, went away and left him. A native of Périgord, who was one of the principal persons that had communicated

as had been till then the practice. By some this may be thought a useless refinement, since all the ways of reckoning must come to the same thing at last. I am, however, of opinion, experience having shown me, that the custom of talking always of crowns, for want of a denomination of money more convenient for petty traffic, had imperceptibly raised all that was bought or sold to more than its real value.

The interest of commerce was still more concerned in the intelligence the king received from several parts of the kingdom, that those who had been employed to search for mines, had discovered a great number of gold and silver ones.*

this project of the edict to the king, pressed much for its being put in execution. The king, who very well knew the iniquity of the edict, seeing himself continually teased by this rude contractor, at length asked him what countryman he was; to which he answered, 'I am a native of Périgord.' '*Ventre saint-gris!*' replies the king, 'I always thought so; for in that country they are all false coiners.' On Saturday, the 5th of September, the court being met on the *édit de monnaie*, rejected it entirely. '*Nec debemus, nec possumus;* we neither ought, nor can,' concluded they with one voice. The gentlemen belonging to the Mint were sent for, among whom one of the Reformed religion, called Bizeul, spoke his sentiments very freely, for which he was highly commended: and M. le premier president said, '*Non in parabolis iste locutus est nobis.* He has not spoken to us in parables.' It must be observed, that as soon as the people belonging to the coinage had entered the chamber, the first president said to them, 'Sit down and be covered, and you shall speak presently.' On Tuesday the 8th, in the evening, M. de Sully went to see the first president, in order to prevail on him to persuade the court to pass the edicts; but in this he found him inflexible: and as the president represented to him the injustice of it, M. de Sully answered, 'The king ought not to look upon that as unjust which suits his affairs.' On Tuesday, the 15th of September, the king sent letters patent to the court to prolong the parliament for eight days, during which time they were ordered to set about the registering of the edicts, two of which were in a manner revoked; and as to the others, it was hoped they would die of themselves."

* La Septennaire mentions the places where these different mines were discovered. "In the Pyrenees, mines of talc and copper, together with some of gold and silver; in the mountains of Foix, mines of jet and precious stones, and even carbuncles, though but few; in the lands of Gevaudan, in the Cevennes, mines of lead and tin; in those of Carcassone, mines of silver; in those of Auvergne, mines of iron: in the Lyonnais, near the village St. Martin, of gold and silver; in Normandy, silver and very good tin; at Annonay, in the Vivarais, mines of lead; in La Brie and Picardy, mines of marcasite, of gold and silver. Some of these mines, but especially those of gold and silver, are very

This report was spread at court, with so many appearances of probability, that every one representing to himself the direction of this new labour as a source of immense riches, there was not one who did not use his utmost endeavours to procure the grant of it. Monsieur Le Grand obtained the office of superintendent, and Beringhen that of comptroller-general. This gave occasion for La Regnardière, a buffoon whose jests were equally satirical and agreeable, to say, "that they could not have made a fitter choice of a man for the direction of the mines than one who was himself a composition of *mines*."* The improvement and working of silk, of which I shall have more occasion to speak in the following year, commenced in this, and an edict was published for the planting of mulberry-trees.

Among all these different edicts, none made so much noise as that against duels.† His majesty went so far as to make death the punishment of those who disobeyed; in which, I confess, he acted contrary to my advice. I have too plainly declared my thoughts of this pernicious and savage abuse, to fear the accusation of having endeavoured to tolerate it; but I foresaw that an excess of severity in the means would be the principal obstacle to the execution. When it becomes necessary to declare the will of the sovereign to the subject, it is of the utmost importance to examine carefully whether the thing to be forbidden is of such a nature that the fear of death may prevent disobedience; for, otherwise, those extremities are, in my opinion, less efficacious than degradation or disgrace, or even than a pretty high fine or forfeiture. If

difficult and troublesome to work, and at the same time of so little profit, that M. de Thou had reason for dissuading them from meddling with them ever since that time." (Liv. cxxix.)

* The jest lies in the word *mines*, which in French signifies grimace and affectation.

† This edict, in which duelling is declared to be high treason, or *lèse-majesté*, was passed at Blois in the month of June, and is a very severe one; this is the edict which first gave the constables and marshals of France a power of prohibiting violent methods, and appointing the reparation of the injuries received. This the parliament restricted, in the registering, to those rencounters alone that concerned the point of honour, and excepted all other crimes, as debts, assaults, &c. M. de Sully, in the course of these Memoirs, handles this affair of duelling at greater length.

the practice of duelling be seriously attended to, it will be found to be of this nature; for it is commonly persons of quality, and even of the greatest distinction, who are guilty of it; for whom solicitations are so much the more ardent and successful, as the punishment with which they are threatened is great and infamous; it is not, therefore, to be doubted that many pardons will be granted, the example and the hope of which will be sufficient to encourage others to infringe the law. It often happens that those punishments are most regarded for which a pardon dare not, nor cannot, be implored.

Besides those embassies I mentioned at the beginning of this year, the king received a solemn deputation from the Thirteen Swiss Cantons: forty-two deputies from that nation came to Paris to renew the alliance* which had been the occasion of Marshal Biron's journey to those cantons. I was appointed, together with Sillery, de Vic, and Caumartin, to treat with them; but not being able, on account of my other employments, to attend to this business constantly, I satisfied myself with getting exact informations from Sillery of all that passed at their meetings. The only difficulty I started was concerning the three millions that were granted them, besides the forty thousand crowns, to which their usual pension was raised. I could have wished that they had deducted certain sums paid on their account during the campaign in Savoy and on some other occasions; as for the rest, these gentlemen thought good cheer and deep drinking with them the most essential parts of their reception. The king presented them with gold chains and medals, and sent back the pope's chamberlain, who came to compliment him in the name of his holiness, loaded with presents. He gave his consent at the same time to the alliance which the republic of Venice made with the Grisons against Spain.

The great armaments and other warlike preparations which that power was making for the following year, kept the crown of France in continual attention to their motions, and were the cause that Henry, who held it for an incontestable truth that it was by military power alone a state could be rendered

* See all the ceremonies of entries, audiences, and performances of oaths which were observed on this occasion, in La Septennaire, ann. 1602; Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 471, &c.

flourishing, not only rejected the proposal I made him to disband part of his troops—particularly to lessen the number of his guards by twelve or fifteen hundred men—but also took a resolution to make a new levy of six thousand Swiss; and it was with great difficulty that I prevailed upon him to defer this levy till the month of September. He was more solicitous than ever about the payment of his army, and I was obliged to the constable for having solicited with great earnestness the payment of my company of gendarmes. And at last he determined to take another journey to Calais, which was the most considerable of all his majesty made this year, except that into the provinces.

Henry took his route through Verneuil* towards the latter end of the month of August, leaving his queen in the same condition in which she had been the preceding year, that is, far advanced in her pregnancy, for she lay in of Madame, her eldest daughter, in November.† He recommended to me with great earnestness to be assiduous about her, and endeavour to make her approve of this journey, as likewise to procure her every kind of diversion that might alleviate her concern during the first days of his absence. He never wrote to me without making inquiry about the state of her health, and the manner in which she passed her time; and it may be truly said that he never omitted giving her every instance of respect and tenderness that was able to make her forget the uneasiness she received from his amours. It was about this time that he legitimated the son he had by the Marchioness of Verneuil,‡ which was among the number of those things that gave the greatest offence to the queen. Henry was detained a short time at Monceaux by a fever, occasioned by a cold he caught in walking late in the evening to see his masons' work; the remedy he made use of was to go to the chase the next day. As soon as I had acquainted him at Boulogne that everything relating to the queen was

* Verneuil, near Senlis, a castle which he had given to his mistress, Mademoiselle d'Entragues, and from which she took the title of Marchioness of Verneuil.

† Elizabeth, a daughter of France, was born on the 22nd of November, 1602, and married to Philip IV. of Spain in 1615.

‡ Henry de Bourbon, Duke of Verneuil; he was at first Bishop of Metz, and afterwards married Charlotte Seguire.

in such a situation as he wished, he wrote to me to come thither to him, with the president Jeannin, whom he expected to have occasion for.

It was from this place that his majesty was a witness of part of the event and exploits of the campaign between the Spaniards and the Flemish, without having any inclination to disarm, whatever assurance might be given him by the King of Spain, till he had seen what turn affairs would take in the Low Countries, where, however, they still continued to be on the same footing as before. The siege of Ostend was not carried on with so much vigour by the besiegers as it was sustained by the besieged. Prince Maurice of Nassau, after continuing some time at Berg, uncertain of what he should next undertake, went, on the 19th of September, to invest Grave, and intrenched himself, not doubting but he should receive some opposition in this enterprise. Accordingly, the Admiral of Arragon, in the absence of the Archduke Albert, who was detained by sickness at Brussels, endeavoured, by means of a bridge which he threw over the river, to beat up one of the quarters of the besiegers, and to succour the place: but he did not succeed; and he had even the mortification to find that many of his Spanish companies mutinied and, after separating from the main body of his army, possessed themselves of Hoestrate and Dele. He took such wrong methods to engage them to return, that they came to a resolution to apply to the Prince of Orange, who gave them the city of Grave for a retreat, which he had taken, and which these Spaniards restored to him, when the ravages and violences they committed upon the territories of the archduke obliged him to treat with them, and to accept of very strange conditions from them.*

The council of Spain, through a desire of carrying on the war, resolved to make new and more vigorous efforts. A squadron of twelve large galleys and pinnaces, fitted out at Sicily with great care, manned with a sufficient number of soldiers, and plentifully supplied with all necessary provisions, sailed for this purpose out of the Spanish ports, to cruise in the channel. The command of this squadron was given to

* See in the historians the particulars of all these expeditions, which are here only briefly related.

Frederick Spinola, cousin to the marquis of that name, who conducted the siege of Ostend; he flattered himself that he should become master of the sea, and complete the ruin of the Flemish. But this proved a vain hope; of twelve vessels, two of them perished ere he had quitted the coast of Spain; the ten others, meeting with a Dutch squadron, were almost all either taken or sunk;* the last that escaped, and in which Spinola himself was, happened to run aground within view of Calais, but so disabled by the cannon, and in such a shattered condition, that the slaves who rowed it having revolted and fled, the general found himself obliged to land alone, and with great labour, at Calais, from whence he went to Brussels, to complain to the archduke of the sea and the winds.

Spain made herself amends for these misfortunes by the acquisition of the marquisate of Final, which was taken by the Count of Fuentes. There was not the least shadow of a pretence for this usurpation, this little state, which is on the coast of Genoa, being incontestably a fief of the empire; nevertheless, when the Emperor, to preserve, in appearance at least, the right of the empire, offered to send commissioners to discuss this affair upon the spot, his offer was rejected with contempt by the King of Spain.† He used the same violence with regard to Piombino, a fief likewise of the empire, which afforded him a convenient port; and had likewise the same views upon Embden, when he undertook to support against the inhabitants the lord ‡ of that city, although he was avowedly a Protestant. But in this he did not succeed: the citizens of Embden maintained their liberty against both the one and the other, and joined themselves to the States.

The Duke of Savoy succeeded no better in the attempt he ordered D'Albigné § to make upon the city of Genoa. This expedition ended unfortunately for the assailants, although they had opened themselves a passage into the city by apply-

* Sir Robert Mansell, with two English ships of war, had the greatest share in the destruction of this fleet, which happened in September.—Ed.

† The Marquis of Final, by his importunities, obtained a pension during his life.

‡ He was called Count d'Ost-Frise. (See the origin of these troubles in La Chron. Sept. an. 1598, and their conclusion, an. 1602.)

§ Charles de Simiane d'Albigné; De Thou, liv. cxxix.; Septen. an. 1602; Matthieu, ibid. 544.

ing soldiers to the walls, and above two hundred of them had already entered, after cutting the sentinel's throat, whom they had forced to tell them the watchword, which served them to get clear of the patrol till they had found their way through the first guard: and now they thought themselves secure of the city; but the citizens, deriving new strength and courage from the extremity they beheld themselves in, charged them with so much fury that they drove them back, and forced them to abandon their city. Some of these Savoyards threw themselves off the walls, to escape the rage of the enemy; many others were taken, and hanged without mercy. Spain entered very deep into this black design, which was followed by a peace between the Duke of Savoy and the republic of Genoa.*

The revolt of Battori from the Emperor continued the war in Hungary; the Duke of Nevers† went thither, in expect-

* The treaty was concluded the following year at Ramilly, through the mediation of the Swiss Cantons. (Siri, ibid. p. 200.)

† Charles de Gonzague, Duke of Mantua, de Nevers, de Cleves, and De Rhetel, who died in 1637. See how La Chron. Septen. relates an action of which M. de Sully speaks with a kind of contempt: "The Duke of Nevers, thinking, by his own example, to recal the courage of those who withdrew from danger, and to induce others to come on, went directly to the breach, trampling over the dead, the wounded, and even those that were flying; but he received there the shot of a large arquebuse that was fired amidst a great number of other arms, from one of the angles of the breach, that struck him just on the left side, penetrating into the breast near the heart and lungs; but it was conducted so providentially, that, neither breaking nor hurting any noble part, it gained him as much lasting honour as it showed a great miracle in his preservation." Let us likewise hear this writer concerning the death of the Duke of Mercœur. "Having an inclination," says he, "to return to France, in order to prepare for some greater expedition against the Turks, he went from Vienna to Prague, where he took his leave of the Emperor; but while he was at Nuremberg he was seized with a pestilential spotted fever. No sooner was the host brought him, than the moment he saw it, though in a languishing and weak state of body, yet of a vigorous and sound mind, *having more faith than life* (the device of the Duke of Mercœur being, *Plus fidei quam vitæ*), he threw himself out of bed, and falling prostrate upon the ground, adored his Saviour, uttering the most devout ejaculations." The whole of what this author adds concerning the acts, sayings, and sentiments of the Duke of Mercœur till the moment of his death, is quite affecting, and serves sufficiently to form a high eulogium to his character. "His funeral oration was pronounced in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris, by Monsieur

ation of succeeding to the post and reputation of the Duke of Mercœur; but laying siege to Buda after Pesth had been taken by the Christians, the Turks, who on their side had at length won Alba-Regalis,* hastened thither with such numerous forces, that they forced them to raise the siege, and the Duke of Nevers retreated very much wounded. An action of George Baste, the Imperial general, has been very much and very deservedly applauded. The rebels in Battori's party having seized Bistrith, Baste retook this place by a capitulation, which was violated during his absence by some German soldiers. As soon as he was apprised of it on his return, he hanged up all those soldiers, and out of his own money satisfied the inhabitants for the damage they had received. The rebels were so greatly affected with the generosity of this action, that they all submitted to the Emperor, and demanded no other security than the general's word.

François de Selles, coadjutor and bishop elect of Geneva. The Turks imagined that the affairs of the Christians did not prosper but wherever this prince was." After the eulogium of his family, the historian passes to that of his virtues: "He was one of the most temperate men in the world as to diet, so as only to eat when obliged through necessity, and he drank almost nothing but water; he was no less abstemious in other temporal enjoyments; humble in the possession of all those high honours and great favours Heaven had heaped upon him, and never abusing any of them; he was equally accessible to rich and poor; moderate in his recreations; he had a great contempt for idle assemblies: so that what time remained for amusement he employed in reading useful books. He had an exact skill in practical mathematics; he was also eloquent, and would gracefully deliver his elegant sentiments not only in French, but likewise in the German, Italian, and Spanish tongues, in which he was more than moderately skilled; and yet he never employed his elocution but to enforce things that were useful, praiseworthy, and virtuous." The description which this writer afterwards gives, with regard to his performing the duties of religion and those of his station, his piety, his prudence, and his other virtues, forms altogether a picture which may serve for a model to the great of our times, if we except an immoderate ambition and mistaken zeal for religion, which made him undertake a conspiracy against his sovereign. (Matthieu, ibid. 456, speaks of him in the same manner.)

* Or Albe-Royale, as it is before named; it is now called Stuhlweissenburg.—Ed.

BOOK XIV.

[1603.]

Troubles at Metz—Henry goes thither and banishes the Soboles—Other affairs transacted in this journey—Memorial against the Cardinal d'Ossat—Examination of the sentiments and conduct of the cardinal—Affairs of the Low Countries—Intrigues of the Duke of Bouillon, and new seditions of the Calvinists—Death of the Queen of England—Accession of James I.—Henry's return—His conversation with Rosny upon the death of Elizabeth—Resolves to send Rosny ambassador to London—Deliberations in the council, and intrigues in the court upon this embassy—Indisposition of the king—Public and private instructions given to Rosny—His departure with a numerous retinue—Character of young Servin—Rosny embarks at Calais—Insulted by the Vice-Admiral of England—His reception at Dover, Canterbury, &c.—He is received into London with the highest honours—His severity in the affair of Combaut—State of the political affairs of Great Britain—Character of the English—Of King James—Of the queen, &c.—Several factions in the English court—Rosny's conferences with the English councillors—With the deputies of the States-General—With the Resident from Venice, &c.—He obtains his first audience—His concern at not being permitted to appear in mourning.

THE city of Metz had been for some time shaken with those intestine divisions which broke out in the beginning of this year. The Duke of Epernon, who was governor of it, and of the whole country of Messin, had placed Sobole* and his brother as his lieutenants there, who made such an ill use of their authority, that they were soon hated by the whole body of the citizens. This hatred was strengthened by the difference of their religions, and there was such a general outcry amongst the citizens and country people against the lieutenants, that D'Epernon was obliged to go himself to Metz, to hear the complaints of both parties, and

* Raymond de Comminges, lord of Sobole, and his brother, gentlemen of Gascony.

endeavour to reconcile them to each other. Sobole complained that the city refused to furnish the troops with provisions; and the city, in their turn, threw the whole blame upon Sobole. Some disputes had also risen concerning a certain Provençal prisoner at Vitry, which, through rancour and desire of revenge, occasioned several other matters less considerable; and these heats had already proceeded so far as to make a revolt apprehended.

The Duke of Epernon was soon convinced that the two Soboles* had not justice on their side, at least with regard to the first complaint—which was, indeed, the chief, and by them made the occasion of a quarrel, with no other view than to afford them a pretence for opening the magazines of the citadel, which was never permitted but in case of a war or a siege, and thus to make themselves masters of them. D'Epernon would have been glad to have pacified matters, without being obliged to deprive his two creatures of their posts; for he well knew that this was an exertion of authority which he would have some difficulty to support himself in, the two brothers being at the head of a party strong enough to oppose the governor as well as the citizens.

Things were in this state when the king received advice of what was doing at Metz: he sent me notice that he would come to the Arsenal to confer with me, and desired that I would have a supper prepared for him and six other persons whom he should bring with him. When he came, he made me follow him alone into the great storehouses of artillery and arms, and beginning, as usual, to talk about the situation of affairs within the kingdom, with respect to the malcontents, he told me the news he had just received from Metz. Henry, without any hesitation, resolved upon taking a journey thither upon his reflecting that if Metz, a city so very lately dismembered from the empire, should unfortunately happen, in the present conjuncture, to separate itself from France, it would be a difficult matter to recover it. Several other political motives made this journey absolutely necessary, besides that of taking from the Duke of Epernon a citadel

* Sobole accused the inhabitants of Metz of holding intelligence with the Count of Mansfeld, in order to surrender the place to the King of Spain. This accusation appeared to be false. (Vie du Duc d'Epernon, p. 217.)

which he might make use of to very bad purposes, and a considerable extent of country wherein, under the reign of Henry III., he had behaved more like a sovereign prince than a governor; and, upon a supposition that the king should one day carry his great designs into execution, there would be a necessity for having in this country, so important by its situation, a governor from whom he could promise himself more assistance than he could expect from D'Epernon. It was probable, at least, that some favourable opportunity would offer to join Lorraine to France, and in that case it imported his majesty highly to go himself in person, and procure a perfect knowledge of this State, and give the government of that province, which was upon its confines, to a man on whom he could depend. This journey, likewise, would be of use to him, affording him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with some of the princes of Germany, and of sounding their inclinations with respect to the house of Austria, to know if he might expect any assistance from them in an advantageous conjuncture, and even to attach them to himself, by reconciling them to each other, for he was not ignorant that many differences subsisted amongst them.

It was agreed between us that his majesty should set out without loss of time, to the end that, by appearing at Metz with his whole court (for it was resolved that the queen should accompany him) at a time when the two factions, not having yet proceeded so far in their insolence as to embrace a party contrary to the king, both the one and the other should think of nothing but of justifying their conduct, and submitting to his determination. The king would not even stay till the dresses of his guards (for about this time they were to be all new clothed) were ready; but, leaving me at Paris to correspond with him, ordered only Villeroy, amongst his secretaries of state, to attend him, and left Paris the latter end of February, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, which made the roads very bad for the ladies to travel, and took his route by La Ferté-sur-Jouarre, Dorman-sur-Marne, Epernay, Châlons-sur-Marne, and Clermont: the court stopped at Verdun, and four or five days after arrived at Metz by Fresne-en-Verdunois.

Henry's arrival put an end to all disputes, and nothing was talked of but submission and obedience, not but Sobole, who

was sensible this affair would be terminated by his expulsion, had ambition and resolution enough to maintain himself in the citadel in spite of his majesty, and disclosed his thoughts to his particular friends; but the most prudent amongst them represented to him that if he engaged in such a design he would be irretrievably ruined; so that, submitting to the arrêt for his banishment, he gave up the citadel without making any conditions, and quitted Metz and the whole country of Messin. The king appointed Montigny* to be his lieutenant in this province, in the room of Sobole, and D'Arquien his brother to act as lieutenant for the governor in the city and castle of Metz. Montigny, for this new post, quitted his government of Paris, the salary of which, however, he received this year. It was thought that D'Epernon was far from being satisfied with all these changes, as may be easily imagined, the two lieutenants being under no obligation to him for their preferment; but he could have nothing to say, he himself, through necessity, being the first to require the banishment of the two Soboles, so that everything seemed to be done with his consent.

I have taken the whole of this detail from the letters his majesty honoured me with during his stay at Metz, in which he informed me succinctly of all the incidents, but dwelt longer upon the manner in which he was received at Metz, and upon the city itself, which, he said, was three times larger than Orleans, and finely situated, but that the castle was not worth anything; he likewise told me that he wished for my presence in that country, that he might send me to visit the frontier, and that before six days he should put everything in such good order as to be able to leave Metz. In effect, the king accomplished it in much less time, and was only detained there by an indisposition that obliged him to take some

* Francis de la Grange, lord of Montigny, Sery, &c., was chief steward of the household to Henry III., governor of Berry, Blois, &c., knight of the order of the Holy Ghost, campmaster-general of the light-horse, governor of Paris, afterwards of Metz, the Pays Messin, Toul, and Verdun, and, lastly, Marshal of France: he died in 1617. His brother was Antony, lord of Arquien, commandant of the citadel of Metz, governor of Calais, Sancerre, &c. He is miscalled by some John-James d'Arquien; and D'Arcy by Father Daniel. John-James d'Arquien was nephew of Marshal de Montigny.

medicines, after which he found himself quite well, although it was followed by a fit of the ague, which he thought was occasioned by a cold. The Duchess of Bar, sister to his majesty, came to Metz on the 16th of March, and the Duke of Deux-Ponts, with his wife and children, arrived three days afterwards. The remainder of the time his majesty stayed in this province was employed in concluding a marriage between Mademoiselle de Rohan and the young Duke of Deux-Ponts;* in composing a difference between the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Prince of Brandenburg† concerning the bishopric of Strasburg, which was accomplished by dividing the revenue of this bishopric equally between them, without having any regard to their titles and pretensions; in restoring tranquillity to that city, and in being serviceable to all the princes who required his interposition in any of their affairs. The name of Henry became so revered in this country, that several sovereign princes of Germany took a resolution to go thither and pay their respects to him, to offer him their service, and demand his protection; which, however, they could only do afterwards, and by ambassadors, the necessary preparations for their equipages taking up a longer time than his majesty had determined to stay at Metz. The Cardinal of Lorraine, the Duke of Deux-Ponts, the Marquis of Brandenburg and Pomerania, the Landgrave of Hesse, and three or four others whose dominions lay nearest the Rhine, were the only persons who went thither.

The Jesuits, who ever since their banishment had been using their utmost endeavours to procure their re-establishment in France, appeared no less solicitous to make their court to the king; for this purpose, they made use of the good offices of the fathers of their order at Verdun,‡ sup-

* John II., duke of Deux-Ponts, of a branch of the house of Bavaria, married Catherine, the daughter of Henry, duke of Rohan.

† John Manderscheidt, the Catholic bishop of Strasburg, dying in 1594, Cardinal Charles of Lorraine obtained this bishopric of the popc; and the Protestants, on their part, got John-George, brother of the Elector of Brandenburg, elected; whence a war arose, which continued till this year. (See the historians, Bassompièrre's Memoirs, vol. i.; La Chron. Sept., &c.)

‡ The Fathers Ignatius Armand, provincial Châteiller, Brossard, and La Tour, introduced by La Varenne, came on Wednesday in Passion-week to throw themselves at the king's feet, and to implore his favour

ported by La Varenne, who declared himself their protector, that they might one day become his, and repay his zeal by the advancement of his children, for whom he already thirsted after the most eminent dignities in the Church. D'Ossat, though not in France, laboured with equal ardour and success in their favour. The ambitious desire of being arbitrator of the affairs of Europe had often made this man undertake to treat of matters quite foreign to his commission: the obstacles he raised at Rome to the marriage of the Princess Catherine, the king's sister, is one proof of it, and his solicitations for the Jesuits another; for the re-establishment of this society was regarded by him, Villeroy, Jeannin, and other creatures of the Roman court in France, to be the most essential part of that system of politics, which they endeavoured to have preferred there to that pursued by the council.

D'Ossat, by printing his letters, which prove the truth of my assertions concerning him, seems not to be solicitous about concealing his true sentiments from the public; but, if he is inexcusable for having almost always observed a conduct quite opposite to that which the gratitude he owed to his prince and benefactor ought to have suggested to him, he deserves still greater reproaches for having endeavoured, both in his discourse and in his writings, to give a bad impression of the king and his ministers. When removed from the centre of business, all the informations he could obtain must be through the means of wretches, to whom a man of sense and judgment ought to be cautious of giving credit. It is not difficult to perceive that this passage tends partly to justify myself against the censures of D'Ossat, he

for their readmission into France. Henry IV. would not suffer the provincial, who spoke for the whole order, to address him kneeling. When he had done, the king answered them, that for his part he was not an ill-wisher to the Jesuits: he required them to give him, in writing, what they had been saying to him, and kept them the whole day with him. They returned on Easter Monday, and the king promised to recal them, and even ordered the father provincial to come to him at Paris, and bring Father Cotton with him. "I will have you with me," added he, "for I think you useful to the public, and to my kingdom." He dismissed them, after having embraced them all four. (De Thou, book cxxix.; Chron. Sept. anno 1603; MSS. Biblioth. Royale, vol. 9129, &c.; P. Matthieu, vol. ii. book iii. p. 556.)

having about this time written a letter to Villeroy, in which he did not scruple to attribute Marshal Biron's rebellion, and the discontent of the other French lords, to the very little satisfaction they received from Henry, and the oppression the people groaned under through the tyranny of his councillors: and that he might not do things by halves, this able man, who valued himself upon his nice discernment in affairs of state, presumed, by desiring Villeroy to show his letter to the king, to advise his majesty to remit his confidence and his authority into other hands. Possibly, if this proceeding of D'Ossat were thoroughly examined, it would be found to have more artifice than mistake in it; for it is not likely that a man, who received such exact information from Villeroy of everything that happened, could be ignorant that what he represented as a general conspiracy of all the States in the kingdom, was, in reality, only a faction, composed of a few persons, whose heads were turned by ambition, and the licentiousness of the late times; and that all the rest of the French nobility placed their glory and their happiness in their firm attachment to their prince; that the clergy, on their side, praised him no less, and, in effect, had no less reason to praise him, having but lately received a very considerable gratuity from him; and lastly, that the people, besides the suppression of the penny in the shilling, had been further relieved by his majesty by an abatement of two millions in the land-tax.

I was not unacquainted with any of D'Ossat's malicious proceedings, nor of his personal complaints against me, for not paying his pension exactly. Villeroy undertook to recommend the speedy payment of it to me, and acquitted himself of this commission, by exalting, as usual, the great abilities and services of the cardinal. Some days afterwards, I was accosted by a banker, who made me a proposal to discharge certain pensions, given by his majesty to persons at Rome; among others, D'Ossat's, which he did with the same unpolite freedom that the cabal of my enemies affected to use with me. There are some offices in themselves of such dignity, as to draw respect and consideration upon the persons who possess them. I was not sorry that the banker was made sensible of this truth, and I sent him away coldly enough. D'Ossat found himself obliged to write to me four

months afterwards, and I received his letter at the same time that one was brought me from my brother, who was ambassador at the court of Rome. D'Ossat expressed himself in so insolent a manner in this letter, that it certainly deserved no better answer than I had given the banker. However, being of opinion that I ought not to regard it, I was going to make out a draft for his payment, when I received an incontestable proof of the injurious language he publicly used against me: that instant, I confess, I withdrew the warrant, which was a very exact one, and substituted another in its room of a more doubtful payment, and from that time resolved to expedite no more, but by the king's express command. I wrote to Villeroy at Metz, and acquainted him with this resolution, and in the postscript of my letter gave him a detail of the speeches and letters of D'Ossat in which I was concerned, and in the height of my just indignation I called the cardinal both ungrateful and imprudent, epithets which, if what I heard of him was true, he deserved; if false, I gave Villeroy to understand that I would pay a proper regard to his interposition in favour of D'Ossat. He was still more alarmed by my threat to acquaint the king with the insolence of his agent, and conjured me to be pacified: I consented, and all the revenge I took upon D'Ossat was to render his intrigues at Rome ineffectual: those in favour of the Jesuits were continued only during this year, for the society returned to France in the following year.

I shall resume this subject in the proper place, and shall have occasion once more to introduce D'Ossat, on account of a memorial which was addressed to me from Rome against him. At present, what remains to be said of him regards the coadjutorship of Baïeux, and the abbey of Coulon, if the affair were worth a long detail; but as it is not, I shall content myself with only informing the reader that D'Ossat procured himself to be made coadjutor of Baïeux, and treated with the Maintenons for his abbey of Coulon, by an agreement not very advantageous for them. His majesty gave me this abbey, after performing the promise he made to the Maintenons that they should lose nothing by it, and they obtained an equivalent upon the Bishopric of Evreux. Villeroy earnestly solicited his majesty for D'Ossat, and endeavoured

to engage my interest for his friend. Maintenon, on the contrary, was highly dissatisfied that this favour was granted him.

During the king's absence, the pope's nuncio made another complaint to me on the journey his majesty had just undertaken. The reason of his holiness's meddling on this occasion was, that Spain, Savoy, and their partisans, uniting to the ideas they had conceived respecting the motives of this journey, those which they entertained of the armaments and treasures of the king, which report had greatly exaggerated, they had inspired the holy father also with their apprehensions. Henry, whom I informed of the nuncio's fears, ordered me to remove them, without troubling myself about undeceiving either Spain or Savoy.

His majesty and I treated, by letter, of many different affairs, and amongst others of those of Flanders. It was computed that, by the last of February this year, the Spaniards had lost eighteen thousand men, and fired above two hundred and fifty thousand volleys of cannon before Ostend; nevertheless the siege was but very little advanced, and in the month of April, the besiegers attempting to make a general assault were repulsed with great loss. From this, the archduke was convinced that, notwithstanding all his efforts, it would be time only, and a total want of men and ammunition of every kind, that would deliver the place into his power. Nassau, on his side, after the reduction of Grave, laid siege to Rhinberg, and from thence went to invest Bois-le-Duc, not considering that this enterprise exceeded his strength, it being impossible, as I have already observed, to take Bois-le-Duc with so small a number of troops as he had. Accordingly he was on the point of losing both his army and his reputation there; but, in revenge, he had the satisfaction of driving the Spaniards out of the castle of Vactendonck, where they were, in a manner, already masters. The garrison of this place, too weak to resist them, and no longer thinking of anything but retreating, had abandoned the city and the castle to their discretion, when they were joined by some Dutch troops, who passed by that place in their march to the army of Prince Maurice; and all together attacked the Spaniards, and dislodged them from the castle.

It may be easily imagined that the United Provinces

could not carry on this war without being at a great expense both of men and money, to which it was absolutely necessary that France should continue to contribute. The siege of Ostend alone had cost them one hundred thousand volleys of cannon, and seven thousand men. His majesty, for the interest of both Powers, kept Buzenval* in those provinces, who was then upon the point of returning to France. The agent sent by the States to the king was named Aërsens ;† this agent represented to me that his countrymen would be soon in no condition to keep the field, unless his majesty would permit them to recruit the French companies that were in their service with Frenchmen. The king sent me an answer from Chalons-sur-Marne to this request, which I had communicated to him, and told me that he consented to it, but, to avoid an open rupture with Spain, upon these conditions, that it should be Aërsens himself who should raise the recruits, and not the officers, who would do it too publicly, they having already acted in such a manner as to draw upon him some reproaches from the King of Spain; that the recruits should be raised with the utmost expedition and the utmost secrecy ; and that the soldiers who listed, the number of which he desired to know, should file off without any noise to the place where they were to embark, marching six in a company at most, with no other arms than their swords, and no more money than was necessary to defray their expenses till they got there; that they should take shipping rather at Dieppe than Calais, this last city being too much crowded with foreigners; and that notice should be sent to Chastes, who was governor of it, and Vice-Admiral de Vic, whose concurrence was necessary to the design, and for

* Paul Choart de Buzenval.

† Francis Aërsens, resident and afterwards ambassador from the States of Holland at the court of France. The memoirs of that time represent him as a man of a subtle, artful, and even dangerous turn of mind. Cardinal de Richelieu speaks of him, Oxenstiern, Chancellor of Sweden, and Guiscardt, Chancellor of Montferat, as the only three politicians he had ever known in Europe. "It was the received opinion of that time," says Amelot de la Houssaye, "that Henry IV. had an amour with Aërsens' wife, and that the husband was content with it, by reason of the profit he reaped from it; this amour laid the foundation of his fortune. He left 100,000 livres a year to his son, who was called Van Sommerdyk."

whom he sent me a letter without a seal. Some alterations, however, were made in these orders; Aërsens could not levy the men alone; and it being my opinion that I ought not to meddle in it, the officers raised the recruits, but did it with all possible secrecy. His majesty thought it would not be amiss to send the garrison he had forced to leave Metz to Flanders; and, for fear that they should enlist with the archduke, cast his eyes upon my cousin Bethune to conduct them. As to the pension for which Aërsens strongly importuned me, the king deferred taking a resolution about it till his return.

During his majesty's stay at Metz, the Duke of Bouillon brought his affair likewise upon the carpet. He had retired to Germany, to the Elector Palatine, to whom he was allied by the electress. He prevailed upon the elector to undertake his justification to Henry,* or to deceive him again by a letter, which his majesty sent me immediately, to have my opinion of it. The purport of this letter, in which the Elector Palatine very unseasonably affected to treat with the King of France as with an equal, was to represent to him the great affliction it gave the Duke of Bouillon to have his fidelity suspected by the king, and to assure him that he himself was convinced of his innocence, by proofs which he thought unanswerable. The king had sent for Bouillon to come to him and clear up his conduct, and afterwards gave him notice by La Trémouille that he should at least stop at Sedan; but Bouillon had done neither the one nor the other; the Palatine, therefore, to excuse the duke, alleged, that, with regard to the first complaint, the quality of his accusers made it imprudent for the duke to go and abandon himself to them; and to the second he said, that the gentleman who had brought his majesty's letter had found Bouillon at Geneva, from whence he had a sincere intention to go and wait for his majesty at Sedan: but that, thinking it necessary to take his route through Germany, that he might avoid the countries in dependance upon Spain and Lorraine, and also pay his respects to the elector, and the electress his kinswoman, whom he had not yet seen, it was owing to this tedious journey that he had missed the opportunity of receiv-

* History of Henry Duke of Bouillon, book v.

ing his majesty at Sedan. The letter concluded with repeated assurances of the duke's attachment to his majesty, for the sincerity of which the elector brought as a proof the connexion there was between them.

Henry answered the elector's letter with more politeness than he had reason to expect, and promised, as he had always done, to restore the Duke of Bouillon to his friendship and esteem, but upon conditions which Bouillon knew himself to be too guilty to accept. In effect, at the very time that he was making these new protestations, his majesty received while at Metz advice from Heidelberg, which he communicated to me, that a man named Du Plessis-Bellay, brother to the governor of the young Chatillon, had been sent by the Duke of Trémouille to the Duke of Bouillon with despatches, in which his majesty was nearly concerned; that this courier, who was to set out from Longiumeau, had orders to pass through Sedan without making himself known, not even to Du Maurier; and at his return he was again to pass through Sedan, and afterwards Paris, with the answer to Trémouille's despatches, whom he was to meet at Comblat. His majesty would not have entered into so circumstantial an account of this affair, but that he wished (which however was not practicable) that I in concert with Rapin could arrest this courier, not before his arrival at Paris, but in the road from Paris to Thouars, after he should have received letters in that city, which would fully discover the nature of his commission.

His majesty had certainly no occasion for further proofs of the Duke of Bouillon's guilt. I may venture to affirm, without any danger of judging too rashly, that the submission which appeared in that step he had lately prevailed upon the elector to make in his favour, was only dissembled with a view to two things: the first was to inspire the king with a security in regard to his person, and the second to continue to draw from him those sums which for a long time he had regularly received for the support of his fortresses. This demand he renewed by Saint-Germain, with whom Henry was highly displeased. His majesty recommended it earnestly to me, to pay no regard to the solicitations that were made me from Bouillon, but at the same time to give him no reason to suspect that I had any knowledge of what

he had just related to me. These orders were indeed unnecessary, after the discoveries I had lately made of the new discontents which Bouillon and Trémouille had excited in the provinces amongst the Protestants, and from the result of the conversation I had with Henry at the Arsenal, before his departure for Metz, of which I have only mentioned what related to this journey.

To proceed: after having long considered the cast of the cabal, which struck a mortal blow to the heart of Henry, I found means at last to set him at rest, by showing him, that, however formidable might be its present appearance, it would, after some ineffectual struggles, fall to nothing. Whatever notions may be formed of the levity and inconsiderateness of those whom we are pleased to term the vulgar, I have always found, that, though they may fix upon some particular aims, and follow them not only with rashness but rapture, yet those aims are always to a certain degree general, and directed to some common interest; but that any private ends, such as proceed from the anger or wishes of a particular man, or of a small number, are never long or much regarded. I will venture to say further, that of general interests the voice of the people will give the most certain judgment. Allowing this principle, I considered the seditious party as terrible only on account of the mischievous influence that it might have in the provinces, by misrepresentations of the king and government; and the dread that might be raised of oppression and slavery. And as those influences and those terrors would be made every day less by effects of a contrary kind, and had never infected the principal governments or great cities, the court could never see itself opposed but by a paltry rabble and a few petty fortresses, unable to stand a fortnight against a royal army.

The king was at Metz when he heard the first news of the sickness of Queen Elizabeth, which was sent him by the Count de Beaumont,* our ambassador at London. His majesty thereupon resolved to hasten his departure from Metz. At his sister's request, he went from thence to Nancy, where she had caused a magnificent ballet or interlude to be

* Christopher de Harlay, governor of Orleans, who died in 1615.

prepared for his entertainment. He remained there for some days in great anxiety about the next advices, which he expected to receive concerning the health of the Queen of England. The death* of this great queen, which he heard of soon after, was an irreparable loss to Europe, and Henry in particular, who could not hope to find in the successor of Elizabeth the same favourable disposition to all his designs which were entertained by this princess, "the irreconcileable enemy of his irreconcileable enemies, and a second self." Such were the terms which he made use of in a letter he wrote to me on this event, which was almost wholly filled

* Elizabeth died the 4th of April, N.S., in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. The public report, and the common opinion of the historians at that time, were, that her death was occasioned by a secret grief and melancholy which she could not conquer; the occasion of which was attributed to her remorse and self-reproach for being the cause of the Earl of Essex's death, for whom, among all her favourites, she had shown the greatest affection. This is the opinion of Matthieu (tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 570). Thuanus, and some others, say nothing of this supposed grief, but, on the contrary, say that, like Augustus, she died without grief or fear, and only through the mere decay of nature. Her hatred against our religion, and her cruelty in putting her first cousin, Queen Mary, to death, have tarnished the lustre of her reign;[1] nevertheless, I acquiesce in the eulogy bestowed upon her by Thuanus, who concludes his enumeration of her great abilities by saying she had those of a king, not merely as such, but of a very great king. She spoke Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish; she was also well versed in the mathematics, history, politics, &c. Besides particular histories of her life, see Thuanus, Pèrefixe, Journal de Henri IV., La Septennaire, an. 1603, Memoires d'Etat de Villeroy (tom. iii. p. 209), and other French historians. [For a particular and most interesting account of the illness and death of Elizabeth, see Sir Robert Carey's Memoirs, p. 116 et seq.; and for some conjectures on the cause of the queen's melancholy see Birch's Negotiations, p. 206.]

[1] Who but a Roman Catholic, and one the most bigoted, could have the boldness to assert that the lustre of Elizabeth's reign was tarnished by her having embraced and protected throughout her dominions the pure and mild doctrines of Protestantism, rather than the errors and absurdities of the Romish Church? As to the laws, as Dr. Birch justly observes, "which she enacted and executed against the Catholics, they were not at all intended against their profession as a scheme of superstition, but were a necessary security to her person and government, which had been proscribed by the pope, and attacked both privately and publicly by his bigoted followers."

with the praises of this great queen, and expressions of sorrow for her loss.

His majesty, who was immediately sensible how greatly this event might influence the political affairs of Europe, determined to send me in quality of ambassador extraordinary to King James. He informed me of this his intention in the letter above mentioned; and fearing, perhaps, that I should oppose it, as I had formerly done, endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept this commission by the strongest motives, and such as he knew were most likely to make an impression on me. I was the only person Henry could think of for this purpose (I repeat his words), and that because I was the only man in France who had any knowledge of the affairs that were to be negotiated in this embassy. My religion, probably, had already disposed the new king in my favour, and would gain me free access to him. I dare not mention what his majesty further said, in regard to that reputation of honour and fidelity which, he said, I had acquired among foreigners. Henry soon followed his letter: from Nancy he returned through Toul, Vitry, Rheims, Villers-Cotterets, and St. Germain-en-Laye, to Fontainebleau, which completed a tour of almost two months.

I had received a second letter soon after the first, in which his majesty ordered me to meet him fifteen or twenty leagues from Paris. A report was current, that, immediately upon the death of Elizabeth, the Spaniards began to use their utmost efforts to gain the new king; we shall afterwards see that this report was but too well grounded. Henry had a thousand things to say to me on this head, which made him extremely desirous of an opportunity to converse freely with me about it. I joined him at the house of Montglat, where he had scarce any attendants with him, at which he expressed great satisfaction. He embraced me closely three times, said a few words publicly to me on the success of his journey, and inquired more particularly of me about his buildings* at St. Germain and Paris. Materials were then collecting for building his grand gallery at the Louvre, for the Arsenal, and for other works, of which I had the inspection and

* Henry IV. built the new castle of St. Germain, extended its gardens to the banks of the Seine, and formed its beautiful terraces.

conduct, and which had been partly the subjects of those letters I had received from him; therein he had also directed me to proceed in the execution of what had been projected in regard to the apartment of the Louvre, called "The Hall of Antiquities."

After I had, in a concise, but satisfactory manner, replied to all these articles, the king took me by the hand and led me into the garden, at the door of which he ordered some of his guards to be placed. The embassy to England was the sole subject of our conversation. His majesty had at first imparted to his court his resolution to send this embassy, but without naming the person whom he had fixed upon to execute it. The knowledge of this alone had excited some murmurs among the partisans of the pope and Spain; and it was said that Henry sought allies only among princes who were of a different religion from his own. But when his majesty, notwithstanding, declared publicly his intention to invest me with this employment, their disgust then showed itself without restraint. This whole cabal, which I had good reason to think was made up of my most inveterate enemies, boldly represented to his majesty, that to send a Huguenot to treat concerning the interest of the kingdom, with a prince of the same religion, would be highly dangerous to the State; and more especially so, were he entrusted with a full power. Finding they could not prevail upon his majesty to revoke my nomination, they contented themselves with getting my commission confined only to condolences upon the death of the late queen, and compliments on the accession of the new king; or, at most, to an inspection into the state of affairs in England; but without any power to act, or even to confer on the principal occasion of my journey.

Henry, at the same time that he informed me of these secret practices in his court, of which I was till then ignorant, repeated to me his assurances, that he had not been influenced by them to alter his designs, either with respect to the embassy, his choice of me, or of the particular point which he had at first in view: and he further confirmed this his resolution by judiciously observing that an embassy whose commission should be confined merely to ceremony would be useless and vain; and that, if there were any hopes of ever seeing the new King of England pursue the maxims

of Elizabeth in regard to the political engagements of that princess, it would, doubtless, depend chiefly on the manner in which he should be at first prejudiced against the house of Austria, and in favour of the alliance with France and its ancient partisans: but he confessed to me that this point appeared to him, in all respects, so extremely difficult, that unless it were managed with the utmost dexterity, both in the council of France and at the English court, it would, perhaps, be better not to think of it at all. He further said, that it would first be necessary so to impose on the enemies which I had in the court and council, that they might suspect nothing in my commission more than what should be declared to me in their presence, and even with their consent. His majesty, on this occasion, repeated a simile of La Rivière's, which he often used, that the kingdom of France may be compared to an apothecary's shop, in which are contained not only the most salutary remedies, but also the most subtile poisons; and that the king, like an able apothecary, ought to turn them both to the best advantage by mixing them in the most proper manner. In regard to the propositions which I should make to the English ministers, he said I ought to be cautious not to expose the sovereign of the principal kingdom in Europe to the shame of having made advances which should be neglected or despised, and perhaps to a necessity of revenging them: and as to the more secret propositions, which at proper opportunity I should make to King James, he said it would require great judgment and dexterity to avoid hastening, by any imprudent step, his engagements with Spain, which as yet were perhaps uncertain, or, at least, far from being concluded. His majesty supposed that all causes of dissatisfaction might be obviated, as much as it was possible, by giving me in writing and in open council such instructions in regard to my embassy as should appear to be only general and merely complimentary, which I might publicly produce in England as well as in France, but which, however, should not prevent my seconding his majesty's more particular intentions whenever a favourable opportunity might present itself; provided, nevertheless, that I did it as of myself, and without giving the King of England to understand that I was authorised therein by the king my master.

What his majesty thus acquainted me with, appeared to me of such great consequence that I desired him to grant me four days to consider of it before I gave him my answer. I immediately set out post for Paris, to be at liberty to make my reflections, and Henry departed from thence for Jully. I easily persuaded myself to comply with the king's desires, but I thought it a necessary precaution to have his majesty's more immediate avowal and authority for all those propositions which he had enjoined me to make to the King of England, as of myself, without which I thought it would be risking too much. To be favourably received and heard by King James, it would be proper to begin by gaining his confidence, to which my religion gave me the best claim; but I was sensible that by this I should be obliged to break through those bounds of circumspection which, in France, I had prescribed to myself, out of a deference to the religion of the prince. I had no reason to doubt but that, whatever words might escape me, which in this respect should appear somewhat free, would be as industriously reported by the enemies I should have in that court as they could have been in France; and I had equal cause for being apprehensive that something of this kind would be afterwards represented in such a manner, as to appear criminal in the eyes of his majesty, who, as well as other good princes, had his moments of mistrust and ill-humour; and sometimes one of those moments is sufficient to ruin a minister, however firmly supported; a reverse of fortune which it was not impossible but I myself might experience.

All these considerations confirmed me in a resolution not to depart without a writing signed by his majesty, and known only to us two, whereby whatever my conduct might be at the court of London, and whatever expressions I might use to the King of England, I might be able, if necessary, to justify myself, and to show that I had done nothing but to promote the success of our affairs, and that by his majesty's express orders. Thus I declared myself to Henry, when at the end of four days he came to the Arsenal to receive my answer; though, indeed, I made this declaration no otherwise than by saying that I was full of fears, lest any part of my conduct on this occasion should draw upon me the misfortune of his displeasure.

We were at this instant alone. Henry, after having taken a short turn among the workmen in the grand walk, and commended what they were doing, called me to him, and we went, as was his custom, to the end of this walk, which terminates in a kind of balcony, from whence there is a view of Paris. My proposal occasioned him a moment's reflection, after which he confessed I was in the right, and in a few days he brought me himself the writing I required, and, having read it to me, gave it into my hands. It was expressed in such terms as rendered it highly probable that Henry would never oblige me to make it public. I was permitted to appear to the King of England and his ministers so zealous for the Reformed religion, as to give them assurances that I preferred it both to my country and king, to whom, on this account, I was not more attached than to the King of England. The propositions which I was to make this prince were also enumerated; but I shall omit them here, as being already related in the account of my conference with Queen Elizabeth, and of Henry's grand design. I was also directed to desire the King of England, in case he should not approve of what I had to propose to him, not to let it be known in France, because I was not authorised to make any such propositions; and further (supposing King James approved them), I should feign to defer communicating to the king my master what might be agreed upon between us, till I should see whether it would be as favourably received by the Northern Powers and the States-General of the United Provinces as by his Britannic majesty.

Such was my secret credential letter, which I then considered as a great acquisition, and no doubt the king, on his side, thought it as great a compliance; yet it is certain that by this we had neither of us done what was sufficient. It was necessary to be prepared for the King of England's absolute and entire compliance with all his majesty's intentions, and to be able to make the most of an opportunity which, perhaps, might never offer again. In a word, to conclude a treaty, I ought to have carried with me a blank signed by the king; but our fear of the faction we had to combat in the council scarcely permitted us to think even of this.

In regard to the general instructions which I have mentioned, the king deferred having them drawn up till he

reached Fontainebleau, for which place he set out, attended by his whole court; and in three days his council were to follow: but they were countermanded on occasion of a violent disorder which seized Henry immediately after his arrival at Fontainebleau, which was about the 20th of May:* this was so violent a retention of urine, that his physicians at first despaired of his life. The king himself was strongly persuaded that his last hour approached, and being desirous to divide the few moments which he had yet to live between the care of his soul and that of his kingdom, he addressed himself with great fervour to God, and then dictated the following letter, which was immediately despatched to me at Paris, where I was making the necessary preparations for my voyage, and little expected so melancholy a message:

"My Friend,—I find myself so ill, that it seems highly probable God will soon dispose of me; and it being my duty, next to the care of my soul, to make the necessary dispositions to secure the succession to my children, that their reign may be prosperous, and may promote the happiness of my wife, my kingdom, my good and faithful servants, and my dear people, whom I love equally with my own children, I desire to confer with you on all these matters: come to me, therefore, with all diligence, and say nothing of it to any one; make an appearance only of going to the conventicle at Ablon; and having privately ordered post-horses to be in readiness there, proceed immediately to this place."

The perusal of this letter most sensibly affected me. I set out with the greatest precipitation. When I entered the king's chamber, I found him in his bed; the queen was seated by him, and held one of his hands between hers; he held out the other to me, and said, "My good friend, draw near and embrace me. I am extremely glad you are come. Is it not strange that, two hours after I wrote to you, my exces-

* The king, says the Marshal de Bassompièrre, was seized with a retention of urine on the eve of Pentecost, which gave him great pain, but he was soon freed from it. The physicians being assembled (these are the words which we find in the Journal de l'Etoile), the result of their consultations was in these terms: Abstineat à quavis muliere, etiam regina; sin minus, periculum est ne ante tres menses elapsos vitam cum morte commutet. Henry IV. did not strictly observe what was here enjoined him, nor did any bad consequence arise therefrom.

sive pains should begin to abate! I hope, by degrees, they will entirely leave me, for I have made water three times, the last most profusely, and with but little pain." Then turning to the queen, "This," said he, "of all my servants, is he who best understands, and is most careful of, the interior affairs of my kingdom, and had I been taken from you, would have been best able to serve both you and my children: I know, indeed, that his temper is somewhat austere, that he is often rather too plain for such a spirit as yours, and that, on this account, many have endeavoured to prejudice you and my children against him, that he might be removed from you; but if ever this event should happen, and you should employ such and such persons (naming them softly in her ear), and, instead of following the good counsels of this man, should be wholly guided by their opinions, depend upon it, it will prove destructive to the State, and may, perhaps, ruin my children and yourself. I have sent thus suddenly for him, that with him and you I might consult upon the means to prevent those evils; but I thank God my precautions will probably not yet be necessary."

Couriers were the next day despatched to all parts to dissipate the disagreeable rumours which were already spread everywhere. I did not myself return to Paris till I had seen the king make water; he would have it so, and he did it twice with such facility that I was perfectly satisfied all danger was over. Three days after I received a letter from him, wherein he informed me, that, having been bled in the left arm by La Rivière the evening I left him, he had been greatly relieved, and having rested well the whole night, found himself grow better and better every hour. He thanked me for the interest I seemed to take in his health, and for the advice which, on this occasion, I had been free enough to give him—to be more moderate in hunting; and he promised to observe what I had said. He was already able to be as circumstantial as usual in those details with which his letters were commonly filled: he directed me in this to send two hundred crowns to each of the persons afflicted with the evil, whom his own disorder had prevented him from touching, and whom, nevertheless, he would not send back. Herein, also, he thanked me for the portraits of the new king and queen of England, which I had sent him.

His majesty's physicians were unanimous on this occasion in making him the same representations which I had done, in regard to the injury his health received from the violence of his exercise in hunting. He followed their advice, and found himself considerably better for it: he also received great benefit from the waters of Pogues, which he drank this year for some time, during which the young princess his daughter was taken so ill that her life was despaired of; both the king and the dauphin his son went frequently to see her.

Together with this letter from his majesty, the contents of which I have here related, I received another much longer, which Villeroy wrote me by his order, upon the affairs of England. In this he informed me that his majesty had sent to acquaint the Count of Beaumont with his recovery, that he might notify it to the King of England; also, that I was expected by his Britannic majesty, who attributed my delay to the king's indisposition, and to the Baron du Tour not having notified to the king in form the death of Elizabeth, and the accession of James the First * to the crown of England. The Baron du Tour was, for this purpose, sent by James to his most Christian majesty: he left London on the day after this prince's entry there, and arrived a few days after at Fontainebleau, where he acquitted himself of his commission. Villeroy further informed me, that, for these reasons, my departure for England being no longer to be deferred, the king would soon send for me and inform me of the day; but his majesty changed his intention in this respect, and came himself to Paris. The heat, which had begun early this year, was excessive, and rendered the sands

* On James's accession to the crown of England, the Marquis of Rosny wrote the following complimentary letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, at that time his ambassador in France; the original of which is in the cabinet of the present Duke of Sully:—"To the Scots Ambassador: SIR,—The interest you have in the prosperity of the affairs of the King of Scotland, joined to the desire I have to do you service, have induced me to write to you, that, by the letter which I have just received from the Governor of Dieppe, you might be informed of the decease of the Queen of England; of the accession, reception, and acknowledgment of the King of Scotland to that crown, and that all things there are in a state of peace and tranquillity; for which I rejoice with you, it being highly beneficial to all, and the desire of every good man. Sir, your most humble cousin and servant, (Signed) ROSNY."

of Fontainebleau insupportable to one but just recovering from sickness.

Two days after his majesty's arrival at Paris, he assembled the Chancellor Belliévre, Villeroy, Maisse, and Sillery, on the subject of my departure, and that I might receive my public instructions in their presence. When I entered the king's closet, where this council was held, I told his majesty that the Count of Soissons was in the chamber without, and that it appeared to me necessary that he likewise should be introduced, to be a witness of my deputation. Henry replied that he did not know the count was there, and that, from what I had just said, he would take occasion to reconcile us to each other: for the Count of Soissons' resentment still subsisted. Accordingly, the count meeting me two days after as I entered the palace, told me that he had learned from a good source that I had rendered him an office which he had no reason to expect from me; he thanked me for it, assured me that he would forget the past, and for the future would be my friend: but he did not long continue in these sentiments.

The principal object of these instructions was, throughout, a close alliance between France and England against Spain, notwithstanding all that might be done to prevent it by the partisans of that crown in France. The principal difference between them, and the secret instructions which I had received from his majesty, was, that in the former he had not concealed the true motives for this alliance. I will not transcribe them here, as the particulars would be too long and circumstantial. The substance of them was briefly as follows: to take every opportunity of discoursing upon and informing the King of England of all the unjust and violent proceedings of Spain, thereby to inspire him with an aversion to that Power: to represent the various arts employed by her to embroil Europe; her new usurpations in Italy; her secret practices in England by means of the Jesuits; her intrigues in Ireland and Scotland, under the sanction of the authority which the pope pretends to have over those kingdoms; her designs upon Strasburg, by forcing the Cardinal of Lorraine to consent to the pope's giving the coadjutorship of it to the brother-in-law of the Catholic king; finally, her

proceedings to obtain universal monarchy: all which did but too evidently appear.

In consequence of these representations, the King of England must either have concluded a peace with Spain, or have entered into an open or secret war against her. In the first case, I was to convince this prince that a peace would enable Spain to get possession of the Low Countries; after which, she would not fail to turn her arms either against France or England; and most probably against the latter, on account of the pope's long hatred of her. I was also to undeceive the King of England in regard to the report industriously spread by Spain, that she had no intention to get possession of the Low Countries, but only to form them into a distinct kingdom, such as that of Burgundy had been, to be given to the archduke. As a last resource, I was to insist that Spain should at least be made to purchase this peace at a high price, or should be obliged to the King of France or England for it; and especially that she should give up Ostend. In case an open war should be resolved upon, I was to endeavour to discover the intention of the King of England on that head, and if possible prevent it, and represent to him the necessity of beginning by affording a powerful assistance to the States.

Finally, if a secret war were resolved upon, in which I was to use my endeavours to confirm or engage the King of England, in this case I was to represent to him that prudence required he should begin by strengthening himself upon the throne, securing it to his descendants, and by engaging Europe in his interests, so that Spain might be one day irresistibly attacked; that till this was effected, it would be proper only to keep this Power in awe, or engage her in a fruitless employment of her forces against Flanders; that in the mean time the conditions of the union might be agreed on, and cemented by a double marriage between the children of the two kings—which, however, should not be declared till they had begun the execution of their designs. I was, moreover, to be particularly careful to regulate and determine the nature of the succours which were provisionally to be given the States, and to prevent the English council from demanding the three hundred thousand livres which that crown had lent the United Provinces, lest they might

thereby be induced to throw themselves into the arms of Spain: on the contrary, I was to persuade his Britannic majesty to be at new expenses equal with his most Christian majesty, in favour of these people, and to assist them with the same number of ships as Queen Elizabeth had done; also to obtain permission that the four hundred and fifty thousand livres which that queen had lent France, might be applied, as exigencies should require, in Flanders; and that three hundred thousand livres more might be added to them by England, that, with the seven hundred and fifty thousand livres which Henry obliged himself to join to them, a fund might be formed of fifteen hundred thousand livres for the present necessities of the States-General. In case I could not gain a compliance with these articles, I was to endeavour to obtain a discharge of the three hundred thousand livres which the States owed to England, France engaging to pay that sum; also, to manage this affair in such a manner that the King of England might not have the maritime towns of Holland delivered to him as securities for these succours; and to sound his intentions in regard to those of which he was already possessed in Zealand. In pursuance of this plan, I was to consult with Barnevelt, to act in concert with him and the States' Deputies at London, seem attached to their interests, entertain them with agreeable hopes, persuade them that their interests were the care of the British council, without giving umbrage to that council, and make the best advantage I could of the knowledge they might have acquired of the new court and the king.

These were the principal points in my instructions: there were some others, which did not relate to the same subject, or at least not immediately; such was that in regard to the piracies of the English. I was charged to complain, that since the treaty of Vervins they had taken from France to the amount of a million; and I was to endeavour to get a dissolution of the treaty of commerce concluded between England and France in 1572, as being disadvantageous to France, which by that treaty had not the same privileges and immunities in England that the English had in France. The close union between Elizabeth and Henry had caused all things to be equal on both sides during the reign of that queen, and this treaty was then considered as void, though

it had never been formally annulled. My orders were, however, to be extremely circumspect on this head, and even to suppress it entirely, if I found that by introducing it I might run any risk of raising a suspicion in the new king, from which Elizabeth herself had not been exempt, that France only sought to embark England in a war with Spain, out of which she would then easily extricate herself. If what the Baron Du Tour had said in France, of his Britannic majesty's resolution to succour Ostend, should appear to be well grounded, I might then spare myself part of these precautions.

The manner in which I was to treat with the ambassadors of the King of Spain and the archdukes; the attention which I was to bestow on the affairs of Ireland and Scotland; and the justification of Beaumont, against whom King James had been prejudiced, and for whom I was charged to procure the same privileges from this prince which were enjoyed by his agent in France: these were other articles of my instructions. There was one article concerning the Duke of Bouillon—in respect to whom I was to be silent, unless the King of England should speak to me about him, to which he would probably be induced by the Elector Palatine; and in this case I was to paint the Duke of Bouillon in his real character, and not to engage the King of France in anything on his account. I may observe, that the subjects of my negotiations were sufficiently extensive, for I was to gain a knowledge of the dispositions of the king and people of England, not only with respect to Spain and Flanders, but also to the Northern Powers: to say the truth, the political state of all Europe was concerned in my ensuing conduct and its consequences.

These instructions,* in which his majesty had added to my other titles that of marquis, having been read to me aloud, were then delivered to me in presence of the Count

* The original of these instructions, signed by Henry the Fourth's own hand, is still extant; as also another piece, written by M. de Rosny, bearing this title, "A Memorandum made by me, and delivered to M. de Villeroy, according to his desire, to assist him in preparing my Instructions." This piece is only a recapitulation of all the points which were the objects of his embassy to London. (Cabinet of the Duke of Sully.)

of Soissons, Sillery, and Jeannin, signed by his majesty and Villeroy. Henry also gave me six letters, one from his majesty to the King of England, besides another for the same prince for form's sake, countersigned; two others, in the same manner, from the King to the Queen of England, and two others from the Queen of France to the King and Queen of England; his majesty also gave me a cipher, with which the council were acquainted; but he likewise secretly gave me another, of which none but we two had the key. When I went to take my leave of the king, he presented me his hand to kiss, then embraced me, and wished me a good voyage, repeated his reliance upon me, and his hopes of my good success.

I set out for Calais in the beginning of June, where I was to embark, having with me a retinue of upwards of two hundred gentlemen, or who called themselves such, of whom a considerable number were really of the first distinction. Just before my departure old Servin came and presented his son to me, and begged I would use my endeavours to make him a man of some worth and honesty; but he confessed it was what he dared not hope, not through any want of understanding or capacity in the young man, but from his natural inclination to all kinds of vice. The old man was in the right, for what he told me having excited my curiosity to gain a thorough knowledge of young Servin, I found him to be at once both a wonder and a monster; for I can give no other idea of that assemblage of the most excellent and most pernicious qualities. Let the reader represent to himself a man of a genius so lively, and an understanding so extensive, as rendered him acquainted with almost everything that could be known; of so vast and ready a comprehension, that he immediately made himself master of whatever he attempted; and of so prodigious a memory, that he never forgot what he had once learned; he possessed all parts of philosophy and the mathematics, particularly fortification and drawing; even in theology he was so well skilled that he was an excellent preacher whenever he had a mind to exert that talent, and an able disputant for and against the Reformed religion indifferently; he not only understood Greek, Hebrew, and all the languages which we call learned, but also all the different jargons or modern

dialects; he accented and pronounced them so naturally, and so perfectly imitated the gestures and manners both of the several nations of Europe and the particular provinces of France, that he might have been taken for a native of all or any of these countries; and this quality he applied to counterfeit all sorts of persons, wherein he succeeded wonderfully; he was, moreover, the best comedian and greatest droll that perhaps ever appeared; he had a genius for poetry, and had written many verses; he played upon almost all instruments, was a perfect master of music, and sung most agreeably and justly; he likewise could say mass; for he was of a disposition to do, as well as to know, all things: his body was perfectly well suited to his mind, he was light, nimble, dexterous, and fit for all exercises; he could ride well, and in dancing, wrestling, and leaping he was admired: there are no games of recreation that he did not know; and he was skilled in almost all mechanic arts. But now for the reverse of the medal: here it appeared that he was treacherous, cruel, cowardly, deceitful; a liar, a cheat, a drunkard and glutton; a sharper in play, immersed in every species of vice, a blasphemer, an atheist: in a word, in him might be found all the vices contrary to nature, honour, religion, and society; the truth of which he himself evinced with his latest breath, for he died in the flower of his age, in a common brothel, perfectly corrupted by his debaucheries, and expired with a glass in his hand, cursing and denying God!

From the moment of my departure to that of my return I wrote regularly to his majesty, and gave him an exact account of whatever happened to me. My letters were of three kinds: for indifferent things I used only the common character; my general ciphers I used for such matters as were to be known only to the council; and my secret cipher I employed in what I addressed to the king himself, which was to be seen only by him; his majesty chose to have the greatest part of my letters in this cipher, though he found the difficulty of deciphering so great that he at last entrusted the key to Lomenie, whom he encouraged from time to time to render himself well skilled in it; but the difficulty which I experienced myself in the use of this cipher, whenever I wanted to descend to particulars, compelled me to abridge

the ordinary length of my letters; however, I complied with his majesty's desires in this respect as well as I could, more especially after the affair of the lost despatch. All these letters, which I have preserved, I shall here reduce to the form of a narrative, wherein the public may be exactly informed of every material circumstance relative to my embassy at London and my negotiations with King James.

I stayed a day at Calais, waiting for Saint-Luc and some others who had honoured me with their company. I found the Vice-Admiral* of France ready to receive me; and the Vice-Admirals of England and Holland also came and desired I would embark in their ships. The report current at Calais, of the good understanding between the English and Spaniards, occasioned by what had passed at the embarkation of Count d'Aremberg, ambassador from the archdukes, and the complaints which I saw made to De Vic, of the enterprises of the English cruisers upon the coasts of France, inclined me at first to refuse their offers; but finding nothing in the letters which I received at Calais from Beaumont concerning what I was told to prejudice me against the new court of London, I changed my design in this respect; and that I might not begin by giving them any cause of complaint, I accepted the two vessels offered me by the English vice-admiral.

I embarked on the 15th of June, at six in the morning. The English, by whom I was served, paid me a respect which appeared to me to degenerate into servility; but I had very soon reason to alter this opinion of them. Even at the very moment when they desired I would command them in every respect as if they were of my own nation, De Vic, who only sought an opportunity of showing the English his resentment at the violences committed by their pirates, advancing, bearing the French flag on his main-top-gallant-mast, I found these complaisant English were enraged at an offence, which, according to them, was equally injurious to the King of England and the King of France, whom I represented; and I had reason to think them still more rude and unpolite, when, without deigning to consult me, fifty

* Dominic De Vic, lord of Ermenonville, governor of St. Denis, Calais, and Amiens, vice-admiral of France; he died in 1610.

guns were immediately pointed against De Vic's ship.* It was with great difficulty that I made myself heard; which, how-

* Thuanus and the Septenary Chronology—whose testimony is of great weight here, more especially as they agree in it—both say, that the captain of the English ship in which De Rosny was, did actually fire upon the French vice-admiral. But as I suspect our Memoirs, either for the honour of our nation, or perhaps from vanity, have somewhat qualified this matter, I will here lay it before the reader as it is related in the Chronology above mentioned: "De Vic, Vice-Admiral of France, soon after he had cast anchor in Dover Roads (at which place he had landed part of the retinue of M. de Rosny), sailed from thence on his return to Calais, and passing by the ship on board of which M. de Rosny then was, he ordered his flag to be hoisted, and gave him a salute, soon after which the flag was again taken in. The English captain of the ship wherein M. de Rosny was, seeing the French flag hoisted, commanded his men to fire upon the Vice-Admiral of France, swearing he would suffer no flag to be seen in these seas but that of England. A gun was immediately fired upon De Vic's ship, who, having demanded the reason of it, prepared to defend himself. M. de Rosny complained of it to the English captain, and represented the firing this shot as an offence done to himself; but he talked to a man who refused to hear reason, and who answered him only with rage and fury; he was, therefore, forced to submit, and made a sign to the Vice-Admiral of France to take down his flag, which he did. De Vic, thinking himself injured, demanded satisfaction of the English admiral; who answered him, that the King of England his master did not permit what the captain had presumed to do, desired that he would excuse his indiscretion, &c., and promised that nothing like it should ever happen again. This reply appeased and quieted all parties." (Chron. Septen. and Thuanus, ann. 1603.) Cardinal Richelieu, in his Testament Politique, makes use of this as an argument to demonstrate to Louis XIII. the absolute necessity there was for a naval power. "The cannon-shot," says he, "by piercing the vessel, pierced the hearts of all true Frenchmen; and if the words of King James were civil, yet were they of no other effect than to oblige the Duke of Sully to obtain his satisfaction from his own prudence, by feigning to be contented, though his discontent and his reason for it were really greater and further from being removed than ever. The king your father was under a necessity to use dissimulation on this occasion, but he did it with a resolution, whenever it might again be necessary, to maintain the just rights of his crown by such a naval force as time would furnish him with the means to acquire." (Part ii. chap. ix.) In regard to the fact, which is also related in the Testament, the circumstances are told in a manner almost entirely different. We may further observe, that M. de Sully, in that part of his Memoirs where he speaks of the satisfaction which he desired King James to grant him, passes it over very slightly; doubtless, because he would not appear to have been so very grievously offended as perhaps he really was.

ever, I at last effected by representing to them that De Vic acted thus only to do me the greater honour, and also to give me a more distinguishing mark of his respect by dropping his flag upon my first command so to do. I thought it would be most prudent to do this; and the English hearing what I said, were so far prevailed upon by it as to make their discharge at random. I made a signal to De Vic, which he perfectly well understood, and took down his flag; but, as I was afterwards told, he swore at the same time to be revenged on the English whenever he should again meet with them; though I much question, had the opportunity now been given him, whether he could have obtained the revenge he threatened: be that however as it will, the dispute was ended by this means, and our passage met with no further interruption.

I arrived at Dover about three o'clock in the afternoon. Beaumont, together with Sir Lewis Lewkenor, were there waiting for me. Sir Lewis had the same office in England which Gondy had in France, namely, that of receiving ambassadors, which consists in providing them with lodging, provisions, horses, or chariots, and other things of this nature:* the mayor of Dover also came and complimented me; and the acclamations of the people were so great that it was said nothing like it had ever been before seen for any ambassador. But I was not now to be imposed upon by these appearances, having so lately received a different specimen of the English politeness, of which I had another example, even before my departure from Dover.

The governor of this place sent his nephew to me, to desire I would come with him and see the castle, he not being able to wait on me himself, being confined to his bed by the gout. This invitation was followed by a second, from which I conceived a good opinion of the person by whom they were sent; and I thought the imputation of want of civility might justly have fallen upon myself, had I, after this, quitted Dover without waiting on the governor; I therefore went to the castle the next day, with all my retinue; but I soon discovered that the chief motive to this civil invitation was the

* Sir Lewis Lewkenor was the first person appointed to the office of master of the ceremonies in England. (See Stow.)

pecuniary reward exacted from those who have the curiosity to see the Castle of Dover; this was demanded, with sufficient rudeness, of every one of my retinue, and was followed by the ceremony of making all, except myself, quit their swords. Being introduced to the governor, whose name was Thomas Wymes, he received us seated in his chair, but, perceiving that some of us were looking at the towers and walls of the castle, he put on so sour a countenance, that, pretending to be afraid lest our presence might incommode him, I immediately withdrew, without looking at anything further. I had exhorted my retinue, whatever might be said or done to them, not to forget the rules of French politeness; and this proved to be no unnecessary caution.

When we were upon our departure for London, Lewkenor no longer showed himself that polite and obliging person, who but just before had demanded a list of those who accompanied me, that, as he said, they might all be furnished with the necessary horses and carriages; and I could not but suppose his sole design in getting this list, was that he might send it to London; for he suffered all my retinue to provide themselves horses as well as they could, and at their own cost, and these mild people lent them at so high a price, and at the same time with so much arrogance, that they seemed to think they did us a favour. However, we all carefully concealed our sentiments of so rude a treatment. My own conveyance I procured in the coach of the Count of Beaumont.

I had more reason to be pleased with the behaviour of the gentry in and about Canterbury: they came to meet me upon the road, and that they might pay me all imaginable honours and respect, they pretended to have received orders so to do from the King of England. Canterbury is but a small town, but extremely populous, and the inhabitants so polite, that in no other place did I receive such distinguished honours and civilities as there; some came to kiss my boot, others to kiss my hands, and others to make me presents of flowers; all which must be attributed, not to the English of this city (they everywhere preserve their character of aversion for the French), but to the Walloons and Flemish, who, having at different times taken refuge in this town and its vicinity on account of their religion, have at last almost en-

tirely changed it, and at this day compose two-thirds of its inhabitants. I visited the cathedral, and attended the service, wherein the music was excellent. The cathedral is extremely beautiful and magnificent. When the canons understood that I was of their religion, they redoubled their caresses and civilities: one of them showed himself so well affected to France, as to make me a communication of some consequence, which was afterwards confirmed by Aërsens to Henry himself. This canon had been intimately acquainted with Arnold, the father of him whom I had with me as one of my secretaries; and being informed that this was the son of his old friend, he came to see him, and, among other things, told him that he had been informed by the secretary of the Count of Aremberg,* ambassador from the archduke, who had passed through Canterbury only a few days before, that his master was charged to represent to the King of England, with a view to engage him in an alliance with Spain, that Henry meditated great designs against England, which would openly appear in less than two years; and at the same time to make offers to his Britannic majesty of powerful succours from the King of Spain, with which he might prevent the designs that Henry meditated, by seizing certain provinces of France, on which the King of England had much juster pretensions than any Henry could have upon England.

Here Lord Sydney came and complimented me from the King of England, and made me many obliging offers of service. I knew that the person who had been charged with the same commission to the Count of Aremberg was Lord Howard, whose rank was much superior to Sydney's, being the Duke of Norfolk's nephew, uncle to the lord chamberlain, and member of the privy council. At first, therefore, I was apprehensive that this deputation might be a mark of some disrespect from the King of England; but afterwards, reflecting that the rank of the person who had received the ambassador from Spain was inferior even to Sydney's, I concluded that all this might be merely accidental, more especially as I could not receive greater honours than those which Sydney and others paid me by his majesty's direction. I nevertheless communicated my thoughts on the subject to Beaumont,

* John de Ligne, Prince of Brubançon, Count of Aremberg.

by desiring him to get an explanation of it, but to do it with such address that no cause might be given to create a misunderstanding, where, perhaps, it was not intended to occasion any. Beaumont applied to Sydney himself, and managed the affair with him so well, that he immediately wrote to the Court of London to inform them that they should send an earl of the privy council to receive me, which was done accordingly. The Earl of Southampton, one of the ministers and confidants of King James, came to me from that prince at Gravesend, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry. On our way to Gravesend we passed through Rochester, where our reception was extremely different from that at Canterbury; the inhabitants of that city had effaced the marks that were placed by the King of England's messengers on those houses where we were to be entertained and lodged if necessary.

At Gravesend I was received on board the King of England's barges, a kind of covered boats, which are very commodious and richly ornamented; and in one of these I was carried up the Thames to London, where, upon my arrival, the Tower alone saluted us with upwards of three thousand guns, besides the discharges from several ship-guns, and the musketry from the mole and fort before the Tower: I scarce ever heard a finer salute. I landed near the Tower, where many coaches, with Southampton and Sydney, who performed the honours, were ready to carry me and all my retinue to the house of the Count of Beaumont, which I had chosen for the day. The concourse of people was so great, that we could scarcely proceed through the streets.

This very evening I had an opportunity of being better acquainted with the character of the two English lords who had been sent to conduct me. Upon my arrival at Beaumont's, Lord Southampton took me aside, and having told me that the king, who was at Windsor, a castle about twenty miles from London, had ordered him to come to him that day, however late it might be, to inform him of the particulars of my arrival, he earnestly desired (having first expressed to me his zeal) that I would impart something to him which he might communicate to his majesty, no doubt with an intention to do himself honour by it, and gain the favour of his master; after him, Lord Sydney came and made me the same

request, by ingenuously telling me that he hoped the honour which he had received by being first deputed to me, and the respect and attachment which he had for his most Christian majesty, might merit my reserving for him at least some part of the affairs with which I was charged; and he added, that I should not disclose myself entirely to Southampton. I plainly perceived these noblemen had a mutual jealousy of each other, and contended who should be the first to give the king any information. I very civilly thanked them, and appeared obliged to both, but gave the preference to Sydney; that is to say, the former received only false, and the latter nothing further than general intimations of but little consequence, and such as I should have been glad to see published. They both made what use of them they thought proper: as to myself, I supped and lay this evening at Beaumont's; and I dined there the next day, for so short a time had not been sufficient to procure and prepare me lodgings till the palace of Arundel,* which was destined for me, could be got ready: this palace was one of the finest, and, from its great number of apartments upon the same floor, the most commodious in London; but this delay greatly embarrassed my retinue, which could not be all lodged at Beaumont's. Houses and apartments were sought in the neighbourhood, but the difficulty was to get them, for the inhabitants refused to receive us, on account of the misconduct which they had but lately experienced from some of Marshal Biron's people; the greatest part, therefore, had like to have been obliged to pass the night in the streets.

It must indeed be confessed that if what I heard on this subject was true, Biron, by the excesses which he had suffered his whole retinue to commit, had not ineffectually laboured to justify the animosity of the English nation against us. I am accustomed to speak my sentiments freely, and never more so than when they may be of use in correcting our manners. The youth of our nation have not yet divested themselves of that vain, pert, and conceited air, nor of those licentious and even audacious manners with which we have in all ages been reproached: unfortunately, too, they

* Arundel House. It had been in the possession of the crown, I believe, ever since the attainder of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, who died a prisoner in the Tower in 1595.—ED.

are not more circumspect among foreigners than in their own country, where they are accustomed to spend their lives at gaming-tables and other places of debauchery, and run into boundless excesses.

I was fully resolved that, if my conduct could not clear France from this reproach, it should not, at least, be incurred by those over whom I had authority; and I determined to exercise this authority in such a manner as to oblige all my people to a strict regularity of behaviour; but in these cases precepts are seldom effectual; I therefore enforced them by an example, for which an opportunity offered almost immediately.

I was the next day accommodated with apartments in a very handsome house, situate in a great square, near which all my retinue were also provided with the necessary lodgings; some of them went to entertain themselves with common women of the town: at the same place they met with some Englishmen, with whom they quarrelled, fought, and one of the Englishmen was killed. The populace, who were before prejudiced against us, being excited by the family of the deceased, who was a substantial citizen, assembled, and began loudly to threaten revenge upon all the French, even in their lodgings. The affair soon began to appear of great consequence, for the number of people assembled upon the occasion was presently increased to upwards of three thousand, which obliged the French to fly for an asylum into the house of the ambassador. I did not at first take notice of it: the evening advanced, and I was playing at primero with the Marquis d'Oraison, Saint-Luc, and Blerancourt; but observing them coming in at different times, three and four together, and with great emotion, I at last imagined something extraordinary had happened, and having questioned Terrail and Gadancourt, they informed me of the particulars.

The honour of my nation, my own in particular, and the interest of my negotiation, were the first objects that presented themselves to my mind. I was also most sensibly grieved that my entry into London should be marked at the beginning by so fatal an accident; and at that moment, I am persuaded, my countenance plainly expressed the sentiments with which I was agitated. Guided by my first impulse, I arose, took a flambeau, and ordering all that were in the

house (which was about a hundred) to range themselves round the walls: I hoped by this means to discover the murderer, which I did, without any difficulty, by his agitation and fear. He attempted to deny it at first, but I soon obliged him to confess the truth. He was a young man, and the son of the Sieur de Combaut, principal examiner in chancery, very rich, and a kinsman likewise of Beaumont's, who entering that moment, desired me to give young Combaut into his hands, that he might endeavour to save him. "I do not wonder," replied I to Beaumont, with an air of authority and indignation, "that the English and you are at variance, if you are capable of preferring the interest of yourself and your relations to that of the king and the public; but the service of the king my master, and the safety of so many gentlemen of good families, shall not suffer for such an imprudent stripling as this." I told Beaumont, in plain terms, that Combaut should be beheaded in a few minutes. "How, sir!" cried Beaumont, "behead a kinsman of mine, possessed of two hundred thousand crowns—an only son! it is but an ill recompense for the trouble he has given himself, and the expense he has been at to accompany you." I again replied, in as positive a tone, that I had no occasion for such company; and to be short, I desired Beaumont to quit my apartment, for I thought it would be improper to have him present in the council, which I intended to hold immediately, in order to pronounce sentence of death upon Combaut.

In this council I made choice only of the oldest and the wisest of my retinue; and the affair being presently determined, I sent Arnaud to inform the Mayor of London of it, and to desire him to have his officers ready the next day to conduct the culprit to the place of execution, and to have the executioner there ready to receive him. The mayor returned me for answer, that his first care had been to quiet the tumultuous populace, not doubting but I would do him justice, and that he was just coming to demand it of me when he received my letter and the sentence; he moreover exhorted me to modify it, either because my severity had disarmed his, or, which seemed most probable, because he had already suffered himself to be gained by presents from the friends of the criminal. I sent again to this magistrate to inform him that as no superior authority, nor respect for any person

whatever, had determined me to pronounce this sentence, I could not consent to revoke it; that, by carrying it into execution, I should justify the king my master, and give the English nation a convincing proof that I had done everything upon the occasion which my duty required; therefore, in such an affair, I could only acquit myself of it by committing it to him, and by resigning the prisoner to such punishment as justice and the laws of England required. I accordingly sent Combaut to him, so that the whole procedure became a particular affair between the mayor and Combaut, or rather Beaumont, who, without much difficulty, obtained this magistrate's consent to set Combaut at liberty, a favour which none could impute to me; on the contrary, I perceived both the French and English seemed to think that if the affair had been determined by me it would not have ended so well for Combaut; and the consequence of this to me, with respect to the English and French, was, that the former began to love me, and the latter to fear me more.

This removed at least one obstacle to the success of my negotiation; but there still remained many to encounter—from the nation in general, from the king, and from other particular persons, according as their different interests might incline them to thwart it. It is certain that the English hate us, and this hatred is so general and inveterate, that one would almost be tempted to number it among their natural dispositions: it is undoubtedly an effect of their arrogance and pride; for no nation in Europe is more haughty and insolent, nor more conceited of its superior excellence; were they to be believed, understanding and common sense are to be found only among them; they are obstinately wedded to all their own opinions, and despise those of every other nation; and to hear others, or suspect themselves, is what never enters into their thoughts. This temper is more injurious to themselves than to us, as from hence they are at the mercy of all their caprices. Sometimes one would be induced to think they have contracted all the instability of the element by which they are surrounded; with them all things must submit to the reigning dispositions, and the sole difference between them and any the most inconstant people in Europe is, that their inconstancy proceeds not from lightness, but from their vanity, which continually shows itself in

a thousand different shapes. Their self-love renders them slaves to all their capricious humours. What they at one time believe to have wisely performed, or firmly resolved, is at another time destroyed, without their knowing it, or being able to give a reason for it; they are, accordingly, so undetermined in themselves, that frequently one would not take them for the same persons, and from hence, they themselves sometimes appear surprised on perceiving their own continued irresolution. If we examine what are called their maxims of state, we shall discover in them only the laws of pride itself, adopted by arrogance or indolence.

From this portrait it may at first appear not to be extremely difficult for an ambassador to inspire them with new resolutions; and this is true, but then it is only for the present moment; this being elapsed, they no longer remember what you may have enforced to them in the strongest manner. So that a King of France must continually have near them a person of understanding and authority, who may compel them, as it were, to hear him, and force them to be reasonable; and even in this case, such a person would always have their pride to combat, which inspires them with a belief that they are infinitely superior to all the other nations in Europe.*

France, therefore, can no more depend on the English than on any of her other neighbours; her true interest and best policy is to render her own interior state and condition such as may make her not only entirely independent, but also able to compel all Europe to feel its want of her; and this, after all, would only be difficult to ministers who can conceive no other methods to effect it than war and violence—methods that ought never to be pursued without an absolute necessity; but let the sovereign show himself a lover of peace, disin-

* I wish, with all my heart, I could have entirely suppressed everything in this character, and in this whole relation, so little advantageous to a nation, whose virtues and genius have rendered it equally well respected and esteemed. To reconcile truth with the veracity of the author, we can only say, that he has here painted the English such as they appeared to him at that time: one of the most happy effects of the cultivation of arts, and the improvement of science is, that those prejudices and partialities which were the cause of hatred and jealousy have thereby been dissipated.

terested in what regards himself, and strictly impartial with respect to others, he will then be certain of preserving all his neighbours in that dependance which is only durable, because it conciliates the affections instead of subjecting the person.*

I dare further maintain, that peace is the great and common interest of Europe, the petty princes of which ought to be continually employed in preserving it between the greater powers, by all the most gentle and persuasive means; and the greater powers should force the lesser into it, if necessary, by assisting the weak and oppressed: this is the only use they ought to make of their superiority. When I consider Europe as composed of such civilised people, I cannot but be astonished that she still continues to be governed by principles so narrow, and customs so barbarous. What is the consequence of that profound policy of which she is so vain, other than her own continual laceration and ruin? War is the resource in all places, and upon all occasions; she knows no other way, or conceives no other expedients: it is the sole resource of the most inconsiderable sovereign, as well as of the greatest potentate,—the only difference between them is, that the former makes it with less noise, and in conjunction with others, while the latter does it with great preparation, and frequently alone, that he may show his grandeur, though, in reality, he only shows himself more signally despicable. Why must we always impose on ourselves the necessity of passing through war to arrive at peace? the attainment of which is the end of all wars, and is a plain proof that recourse is had to war only for want of a better expedient. Nevertheless, we have so effectually confounded this truth, that we seem to make peace only that we may again be able to make war. But let us now return to the English.

* It is not surprising to hear such reasoning as this now we have acquired juster notions in war and politics, and that France is arrived at so great a degree of glory, that conquests can add nothing, or but very little, to it; but what opinion must we conceive of the views and penetration of the Duke of Sully, when we behold him establishing principles, in appearance so improper for the state of misery and weakness in which the kingdom was at that time, or at least from whence it was but just recovered? It is by such true, solid, and wise maxims as these, that the Memoirs of Sully have become a rich mine, from whence all our able ministers have since drawn inestimable treasures.

The court of London might be considered as composed of four sorts of persons, who formed so many different factions; and from this circumstance only, one may infer, what in reality was true, that this court was full of suspicion, mistrust, jealousy, private and even public discontents. I shall here advance nothing, the truth of which I was not well convinced of, either by my own observations, or by the information I received from the partisans of France, from those who called themselves such, from the discontented, and, in short, from many other opportunities which occasionally occurred. The first of these factions was the Scotch, at the head of which were the Earl of Mar, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Kintore, and other gentlemen of the king's bedchamber; they were in the interest of France, and endeavoured to engage the king in their party, who seemed disposed to suffer himself to be governed entirely: some of them were tolerably skilled in military affairs, but not one of them was acquainted with the business of the cabinet. I have not mentioned the Earl of Lennox in this number, because, though he was equally well inclined to France, he had nevertheless a party among the Scots which was separate from that of the Earl of Mar, and even opposite to it, not indeed in its political principles, but only in a competition which should have the advantage in the king's favour, and there was a reciprocal and inveterate hatred between them. Thus the Scotch faction had subdivided itself into two.

The second, in all respects entirely opposite to the former, was the Spanish faction: in this all the Howards were engaged, having at their head the admiral of that name, the lord chamberlain, the master of the horse, the Humes, and others of less note. The third was composed of a number of old English, who, considering France and Spain as equiponderous, or being equally jealous of these two nations, were attached to neither, and sought to render Flanders independent of both, by restoring the ancient kingdom of Burgundy. The first movers of this faction were the chancellor, the high treasurer, and Cecil the secretary of state, at least as far as one could judge of a man who was all mystery; for he separated from or united with all parties, according as he judged it most advantageous to his own particular interest; he had borne the principal sway in the late govern-

ment, and he endeavoured, with the same subtilty, to acquire an equal share in the present; his experience, joined to his address, had already made him be considered by the king and queen as a necessary man. Lastly, there was a fourth faction, composed of such as meddled in affairs, without having any connexion with those before mentioned, and even without having any agreement among themselves, unless that they would not separate, nor unite with any other; their character was purely English; they breathed a spirit of sedition, and were ready to undertake anything in favour of novelties, even were it against the king himself. They had at their head the Earls of Northumberland, Southampton, and Cumberland, Lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Griffin,* and others.

Nothing could as yet be discovered with regard to any of these factions, except that they mutually hated and were jealous of each other; and it was impossible to foretel which would at length obtain the ascendant, and gain the prince in its interests. To judge from appearances, his favour would be disputed only by the men of learning, and the favourites of his bedchamber; the first, because by their superior knowledge and dexterity they commonly succeeded better than others in gaining their master; the second, because they had the advantage of familiarity, and of being admitted into all his parties of pleasure: but the king's humour and inclinations were not yet sufficiently known: besides, his accession to a crown like that of England might occasion such alterations in them as would render any judgment on this head extremely precarious.

All that I had to fear was, lest, among the different sentiments with which endeavours would be used to inspire James, those should prove to be the most difficult that were to attach him to the interests of France. Hitherto his inclinations had been conformable to those of the Northern Powers, who were for making three divisions of the house of Austria; Spain, Germany, and Burgundy: they detested the first, as being too powerful and enterprising; the second they despised, but would, however, have been reconciled to it, by disuniting it from the pope, Spain, and the Jesuits; the third

* Qu. Sir Griffin or Griffith Markham, who was implicated in Raleigh's plot.—Ed.

was as yet only imaginary, but it was what they so passionately desired, that they would have spared nothing to restore it, provided they could also have separated its interests from those of Spain and Germany, or at least have obliged these powers to renounce all pretensions upon one another.

King James was not so well disposed in favour of Henry as Elizabeth had been: he had been informed that Henry, in derision, had called him, *captain of arts, and clerk of arms.* There was some reason to apprehend that it would be difficult at first to hinder him from entertaining thoughts of renewing the ancient pretensions of England upon France, of which his courtiers had not failed to talk to him very earnestly. As to myself, it had been hinted to him, that both I and my brother had spoken of him in terms not very respectful. But to give the reader a more perfect knowledge of the character of this prince, let me add that he meant well, was conscientious, eloquent, and had some erudition; though less of the latter, than of penetration and a disposition to learning. He loved to hear discourses on state affairs, and to be entertained with great designs, which he himself considered and disposed with a spirit of method and system; but he never thought of carrying them further, for he naturally hated war, and yet more to engage in it himself. He was indolent in his actions, except in hunting, and wanted application in his affairs; all which were signs of an easy and timid disposition, that made it highly probable he would be governed by others; and this was further confirmed by his behaviour to the queen his wife.*

The character of this princess was quite the reverse of her husband's; she was naturally bold and enterprising; she loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was deeply engaged in all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, in relation to the Catholics, whom she supported, and had even first encouraged, but also in England, where the discontented, whose numbers were very considerable, were not sorry to be supported by a princess destined to become their queen. Every one knows that women, though but weak instruments in solid affairs, often act a dangerous part in

* Anne, daughter of Frederick II., King of Denmark, Queen of Scotland, afterwards of Great Britain; she died in 1619.

intrigues. The king could not be ignorant of this, but he was so weak as never to be able to resist, nor personally to contradict her, though she made no scruple publicly to show that she did not always conform to his sentiments. He came to London long before her: she was yet in Scotland when I arrived in that city, and James wished she would not have departed from thence so soon, being persuaded that her presence would only be detrimental to affairs. He sent to acquaint her with his desire, and that with an air of authority, which costs nothing to assume against those who are absent, but she was very little affected by it.

Instead of obeying, the queen prepared to quit Scotland, after having, of her own accord, and against the king's express desire, appointed herself a lord chamberlain of her household.* She was also attended by the Earl of Orkney, and another Scotch nobleman; and brought with her the body of the male child of which she had been delivered in Scotland,† because endeavours had been used to persuade the public that his death was only feigned. She also brought with her the prince, her eldest son, whom she in public affected to govern absolutely, and whom, it was said, she sought to inspire with sentiments in favour of Spain; for it was not doubted but that she was inclined to declare on that side. Nevertheless, the young prince gave her no room to be pleased with his deference for her: he naturally hated Spain, and favoured France; and this presage was so much the more happy, as from the assemblage of ambition, greatness, and generosity, already perceivable in him, he promised one day to become one of those princes who are the subject of much conversation. He was, from report, ac-

* The king had nominated Sir George Carew for this office; but the queen, before she quitted Scotland, conferred it upon a Scottish gentleman of the name of Kennedy, at which his majesty was so much displeased, that he is said to have threatened to "break the staff of his chamberlainship" over Kennedy's head, and to dismiss him, if the queen brought him with her into England. (See a letter from Sir Thomas Edmonds to the Earl of Shrewsbury, in Lodge's Illustr. vol. iii. p. 163.)

† "Her majesty went to Striveling, of mind to bring away the prince her son, and carry him along with herself to England; but being denied by the friends of the house of Marre, she became so much incensed, as falling into a fever, she made a pitiful abortion." (Spottiswode.)

quainted with the character of the King of France, and he proposed making him his model; which was certainly very disagreeable to the queen his mother, who, it was said, had resolved to destroy his French disposition, by having him sent to be educated in Spain.

Thus I have given some account of the state of the court of London at the time when I began my negotiation. The character of the rest of the principal persons who composed it will appear more particularly in the ensuing part of these Memoirs. Here, therefore, I will only add, that, besides Count d'Aremberg from the archdukes, Prince Henry of Nassau, and the other deputies from the States-General, whom I found here upon my arrival, the ambassador from his Catholic majesty, and the envoys from Sweden* and Denmark, were also hourly expected, and they accordingly arrived the day after me. There were likewise some others, but not of sufficient consequence to be particularly mentioned. Upon the whole, it appeared as though all the princes of Europe considered the gaining England in their interests to be of the utmost importance to them.

The first of the foreign ministers whom I saw at the court of London were those of the Elector Palatine, who having already made their compliments to the new king, and being prepared to return home, came to take their leave of me almost immediately after my arrival, but nothing particular passed between us. Soon after they had left me, Cecil sent his principal secretary to be informed by Beaumont at what hour he might conveniently see me; and he accordingly came in the afternoon. So long as we had any witnesses of our conversation, Cecil talked to me only of the King of England's affection for the King of France, of the desire which he had of giving him proofs of it, and other things in the same strain, which could only be regarded as compliments; nevertheless, when we were in my chamber only with Beaumont, I pretended to consider what he had said as very serious; and this I did to gain an opportunity of representing to him how highly advantageous a union between the two kings would be to both, and of urging the engage-

* Christiern IV.

ments they had formerly contracted, and the services each had received from the other.

This general introduction served me at least to form a judgment of the disposition of the person who spoke to me; and from his reply I perceived it was not favourable to France. Cecil made me a long harangue, the design of which was to convince me that his master ought not to meddle in any of the affairs of his neighbours, but leave Holland to act as it should judge proper in regard to its disputes with Spain. He spoke of Ostend as a place little worth the pains which had been taken to preserve it, and of the commerce of the Indies as an advantage, of which, in good policy, the Low Countries ought to be deprived. I opposed these sentiments; and though he seemed convinced by my arguments, he nevertheless appeared very little inclined to enforce them to the king his master. He changed the subject by informing me that his majesty was gone to Greenwich, in order to avoid the solicitations which Count d'Aremberg would not have failed to make, to obtain his audience before mine, which his majesty could not have refused him, because he had arrived before me, and which, nevertheless, he was not disposed to grant. To this favour, which Cecil gave me to understand was not inconsiderable, he also added that of offering me my audience, which was a second obligation no less valuable than the former, as all ambassadors were customarily obliged to demand it of the king; neither was it his fault if I did not also regard the deputation of such a man as him as a particular mark of respect. I was not, however, deficient in my acknowledgments to the deputy, and I desired he would give himself the trouble to testify my gratitude for it to the king.

Notwithstanding all the pains this secretary had taken to persuade me that no one after the king had so much power as himself, and that he even governed in the councils of the prince, I thought I perceived the contrary. I likewise imagined that, fearing lest some of his competitors should deprive him of any of his important employments, he had solicited, and perhaps with great assiduity, of the king his master that of treating with me, wherein he acted as if he thought himself degraded by the execution of it. La Fon-

taine and the deputies of the States-General, who entered just as Cecil went out, were, from his behaviour, of the same opinion; and this did not appear to us an unfortunate circumstance any more than the observation which they had made, that since James had been informed of my departure from France to London, he had begun to treat them with more kindness; as before that, he would neither see nor speak to the Prince of Nassau, and had even publicly given the States the epithet of *seditious rebels*. These deputies began to persuade me that the King of France ought not only to inspire the King of England with more favourable sentiments in regard to them, but should openly declare himself their defender. They had much more to say on this head, but it was late, and supper was on the tables; I therefore dismissed them, with general assurances that they should be satisfied.

I gave them a more positive answer on the 21st, when Barnevelt,* their principal, came to see me at the palace of Arundel, of which I was now in possession. Barnevelt, like his colleagues, began by magnifying the misery to which the United Provinces were reduced, the expenses they had been at since the peace of Vervins, their debts, and their exhausted condition. He said the States could no longer keep Ostend, nor resist the Spaniards, unless the King of France caused a powerful army to march without delay, and either through the frontiers of Picardy or the territories belonging to the archduke, enter Flanders from the land side, which was the only means of forcing the Spaniards from before Ostend, having proved, they said, by experience that the Spaniards could easily destroy, one after the other, all the little succours that were sent them by sea, and that immediately on their landing. After all these complaints, he concluded, as his colleagues had done, that Henry ought to declare himself their protector, and enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with them.

I told Barnevelt, in plain terms, that he must renounce any such hopes, for that Henry was not at all disposed, through complaisance for them, to draw upon himself the whole force of Spain, nor alone to support the burden of a

* John d'Olden de Barnevelt, lord of Tempel.

war in which, supposing the King of England should refuse to be concerned, he could not expect to have the advantage. For this reason, I told him, as was really the case, that I could neither take any resolution, nor say anything positive to them till I had at least sounded the dispositions of James with regard to them. Barnevelt, having been at London for a considerable time, might reasonably be supposed to have acquired some knowledge of the king, I therefore asked him what discoveries he had made. He replied, that this prince having, from the first, been inclined to peace, both by the advice of his councillors and his own passive disposition, he had long deprived them of all hopes; but having apparently reflected that this peace would cost England dear, if by his inaction the Flemish should return under the dominion of the Spaniards, or should be obliged, in order to free themselves from it, to accept that of France; and having, perhaps, been made sensible what England even had to fear from a Power, who, without any regard to justice, attempted whatever seemed for its convenience, when all other objects became insufficient to satisfy its unbounded desire; these considerations seemed to have thrown James into a state of perplexity, out of which he had probably not yet extricated himself; for he had said nothing more to them, than that he would not separate himself from France; but, on the contrary, that he only waited the arrival of the French ambassador, to unite more closely with Henry, by concluding a double marriage between the two families.

These informations which I received from Barnevelt would have dissipated part of my fears, had the King of England been one of those princes on whom one could depend: but in all this, with respect to himself, I could only perceive dissimulation, or, at best, irresolution; for those of his ministers whom I had reason to believe were best acquainted with the secrets of his councils, constantly said, upon every occasion, that all endeavours to inspire them with a dread of Spain would be vain, the situation of their island protecting them against the enterprises of any foreign power whatever. It would, indeed, have been highly imprudent in the States and Barnevelt to have judged any otherwise, or have deferred taking measures to prevent their final ruin, till James had taken his resolution; and I believe the States were too good

politicians to have committed such a mistake. In consequence of this opinion, which I communicated to Barnevelt, I conjured him, by all the interest of his country, not to conceal from me any the most secret resolutions which had been there taken, upon a supposition that England would abandon them, or even, which was but too likely, that she would endeavour to augment their distress, by taking this opportunity to demand the cautionary towns offered to Elizabeth.

Barnevelt finding himself pressed, and considering me as the confidant of a prince who was the only true friend to his country, no longer hesitated to discover all to me: and after having intimated the merit of so important a secret, he informed me that the council of the United Provinces had resolved, at all events, to avoid giving up the cautionary towns; that the terms of their treaty with Elizabeth would furnish them with the means of doing this, by the time which might be required to examine the tenour of it; that in case they found themselves too closely pressed by the English and Spaniards, they would endeavour to bring upon the carpet the treaty of Brunswick and Vanderlep, offering Ostend to be sequestrated till the conclusion of the treaty; that during this interval, some event might, perhaps, happen in their favour, and thus, at least for the present, put a stop to the powerful forces preparing in Spain against Ostend.

In order to understand what is here said of the treaties with Elizabeth and Spain, it is necessary to know, that the late Queen of England had demanded of the States certain towns,* as a security for the money which she had lent them, with this gracious clause in their favour, that they should not give her the possession of them, unless they entered into an accommodation with Spain without her consent. As to the other treaty, it was proposed, in the height of the hostilities between Spain and the United Provinces, to put the contested countries under the power of the House of Austria; not the branch which reigned in Spain, but that which possessed the empire of Germany. But whether the States or Spain, or, which is most probable, both, were the cause of it, the treaty that was begun by the Duke of Brunswick, and

* Flushing and the Brille.

continued by Count Vanderlep, came to nothing: the former required that the provinces and towns which Spain still preserved, or had regained in Flanders, should be comprehended in the treaty; because, they said, they risked too much by being so near the power of Spain, who, taking advantage of the pretended peace, might easily regain possession of what she appeared to abandon; and the latter could not but with regret think of separating so brilliant a gem from her crown.

In the afternoon of this day, I was visited by the resident from Venice, who was the secretary of that republic: he was as free and unreserved in his discourse with me as Barnevelt had been; for his State was in the same situation of jealousy and complaints against Spain, and of union with France: he further confirmed to me what I had before strongly suspected of the irresolution of James; he told me that this prince, who so often and so loudly repeated the high-sounding words, *the policy of Europe*, did, in reality, concern himself with nothing less; and that his dissimulation, which his flatterers complimented in him as a virtue, had always consisted in giving hopes to all, but accomplishing none; that it was not to be expected he would change his maxims, having frequently been heard to say, that it was to such an artful conduct alone he owed his security when King of Scotland; and therefore it was highly probable that he would again put those arts in practice, and pursue them more steadily than ever, at the beginning of a reign, and at the head of a great kingdom, whose people, affairs, and neighbours, he was utterly unacquainted with; all which were circumstances favourable to his maxim.

These reflections of the Venetian were at once sensible and just. He afterwards informed me of the Duke of Bouillon's proceedings with the new king, whom, by the envoys from the Elector Palatine, he had solicited to speak to Henry in his favour: but James stopped them, by saying that it did not become a great prince to intercede for a rebellious subject. After this mortifying reply, I know not what were Bouillon's thoughts of that scheme which had been concerted between La Trémouille, D'Entragues, Du Plessis, and himself, and had borne in their opinions so favourable an aspect: this scheme was to make the King of England protector of

the Calvinist party in France, and the Elector Palatine his lieutenant. Bouillon's agent in London was an Englishman named Wilem, who had entered into his service after having quitted that of his majesty, to whom he had been huntsman, and one of his grooms of the chamber, known under the French name of Le Blanc. D'Entragues' agent was named Du Panni: he was very frequently at Beaumont's, and his principal correspondence was with the Duke of Lennox and his brother. Henry had informed me of all these particulars in his letters, and having by his order made inquiries concerning them, I found they were exactly true. D'Entragues was certainly in the right thus to negotiate by means of others; for had he appeared at London, he would soon have been discovered to be a man of many words and but little understanding. The testimony which I on all occasions bore to this truth did not advance his affairs.

The same day, also, Count d'Aremberg sent one of his retinue to wait upon me, excusing his not coming himself, as custom did not permit such visits till after he had received his first audience of the king. All that passed between me and this nobleman consisted in compliments, offers of service, and assurances of peace and friendship, in all which nothing was wanting but sincerity.

The King of England, who had before acquainted me that he would grant me an audience on the 22nd, which was Sunday, sent a gentleman to confirm it to me, to desire I would not think the time tedious, and to be informed how I was lodged, and whether I wanted anything. To this favour was also added a present of half a buck, which, as this prince informed me by the bearer, he had killed that day, and was the first he had ever taken in his life, though he was a great lover of the chase; the reason was, there being very few in Scotland, and this the first he had hunted in England. From hence he took occasion to make Henry a compliment, by saying that he attributed his good fortune to the arrival of a man, who came from a prince that was looked upon to be the king of hunters. I replied, that this conformity of inclination in their majesties was to me a presage of their personal union, unless a jealousy of the chase should prevent it; that, in this case, I would take the liberty to offer myself as arbiter between their majesties, being so disinterested and

indifferent in this article, that when the king my master made a party for the chase, he was so far from thinking, like the King of England, that my presence would contribute to its success, that he generally sent me to pursue other affairs in the cabinet, where, he said, I was more happy. Though there was nothing serious in all this, I was nevertheless glad of the opportunity that was afforded me to insinuate myself into his Britannic majesty's favour, and with this view I turned my compliment in such a manner as might please the self-complacency of James, who, I very well knew, was extremely flattered by any comparison with the King of France. I returned the compliment which Count d'Aremberg had paid me, and at the same time sent him half my present.

One part of the orders I had given with regard to the ceremony of my audience, was, that all my retinue should appear in mourning, to execute with propriety the first part of my commission, which consisted in complimenting the new king on the death of Elizabeth, though I had been informed at Calais, that no one, whether ambassador, foreigner, or English, was admitted into the presence of the new king in black; and Beaumont had since represented to me, that what I intended would most certainly be highly disagreeable to the court, where so strong an affectation prevailed to obliterate the memory of that great princess, that she was never spoken of, and even the mention of her name industriously avoided.

I should have been very glad not to have been sensible of the necessity I was laid under of appearing in a garb which would seem to cast a reproach on the king and all England: but my orders hereupon were positive, not to mention that they were almost laudable; and this was the reason I paid no regard to Beaumont's representations, who entreated me to defer putting myself to this trouble and expense till he had written about it to Erskine* and some others, who were best acquainted with the court ceremonials. He wrote accordingly, but received no answer on Thursday, Friday, nor even on Saturday; and I still persisted in my resolution,

* Sir Thomas Erskine, afterwards Lord Kelly, and groom of the stole; he was the principal means of rescuing James from the Gowry conspiracy.—ED.

notwithstanding the reasons which he continually gave me to the contrary. On Saturday night, which was the evening of the day preceding my audience, and so late that I was in bed, Beaumont came to tell me that Erskine had sent to acquaint him, that the whole court considered my intention as a premeditated affront, and that I had so offended the king by it, that nothing would more effectually prevent the success of my negotiation, from its very commencement. This information agreeing with that of Lord Sydney, the Viscount de Saraot, La Fontaine, and the States' deputies, it was impossible for me to be in doubt about it; and, through fear lest a greater evil should ensue, I caused all my retinue to change their apparel, and provide themselves others as well as they could. Lewkenor coming the next morning to inform me that I should be presented to the king at three o'clock in the afternoon, I perceived, from the satisfaction which he expressed at the new orders I had given, that it was indispensably necessary to vanquish my repugnance; nevertheless it publicly gained me almost as much honour as if I had persisted in my intention, because none were ignorant that I had complied only through absolute necessity.

BOOK XV.

[1603.]

Continuation of Rosny's embassy to London—Detail of what passed at his first audience—Public conversations of the King of England with him upon different subjects—Accidents at the court of London favourable and unfavourable to this negotiation—Dispositions of the different courts of Europe—Rosny's first conference with the English ministers—Intrigues of Spain—Rosny's second audience, and private conversation with King James—He persuades him to support the United Provinces—Other affairs transacted between them—His second conference with the British ministers, who endeavour to overthrow his negotiation—Imprudent proceedings of Count d'Aremberg—Third audience—Rosny admitted to the table of the King of England—Public conversations on different subjects—Third conference with the English ministers and the deputies of the United Provinces—Artifice and perfidy of Cecil—Fourth audience—Private conversations with King James, to whom he communicates the political designs of Henry IV. and Elizabeth, and endeavours to gain his approbation of them—A short abstract of these designs—James declares himself publicly in Rosny's favour.

THE Earl of Derby, at the head of the king's guards, came to attend me to the banks of the Thames, where I embarked with a train of one hundred and twenty gentlemen selected out of my retinue, on board the royal barges, and proceeded down the river to Greenwich. There was, as usual, a great concourse of people both in the streets and on the water. Upon my landing I was received by the Earl of Northumberland, who conducted me through an infinite number of people to the king's palace. Here I was led into a chamber, where we were presented with a collation, though contrary to an established custom in England, never to treat ambassadors, nor even to offer them a glass of water.

His majesty having sent to desire my appearance in his presence, I was above a quarter of an hour before I could get to the foot of his throne, occasioned both by the great

numbers that were already there, and because I made all my retinue walk before me. The king no sooner perceived me than he descended two steps, and would have descended them all, so very desirous he appeared to receive and embrace me, had not one of his ministers, who stood next him, whispered softly in his ear that he ought to go no further. "If," said he aloud, "I show this ambassador particular marks of honour, and such as are contrary to custom, I mean not thereby to give a precedent to others; I particularly love and esteem him for the affection which I know he has for me, for his firmness in our religion, and his fidelity to his master." I dare not repeat all that he said to my advantage. I received so obliging a favour with all due respect; and replied—not by an harangue, such as some may, perhaps, expect to see here, and with which court-pedants would be more pleased—but only by a compliment, which, in reality, comprehended as much, and was more suitable to my situation. Henry's affliction for the death of Elizabeth, his joy for the accession of James to the throne of England, the praises of the two kings, all these I comprised in very few words. I excused myself from my want of rhetorical abilities, and from his most Christian majesty's having explained his sentiments in his letters, which I at the same time presented, distinguishing to his Britannic majesty that which Henry wrote with his own hand. He read them himself, and then gave them to Cecil; expressing at the same time how sensible he was of their contents by these words: "That he had not left in Scotland the ardour with which he had always loved the King of France, and desired the prosperity of his crown." I continued to compliment his majesty, though in the style of common conversation; for that of haranguing was extremely disagreeable to me. I said that Henry had given public demonstrations of his joy on seeing the throne of England filled by a prince who was so worthy of it, and for his having been so readily and universally acknowledged; that if there had been occasion for the presence of his most Christian majesty, he would have given proofs of his sincere attachment to his interests, and union with his person, and have come with pleasure to any place where his presence might have been necessary. I had no cause to repent of my having made this compliment. James replied, that if he had

even found the English at war with the French, his endeavours would, nevertheless, have been to live in peace with a prince who, like himself, had been called from the crown of Navarre to that of France; "it being always commendable," said he, "to overcome evil with good;" but that he had had the double satisfaction of quitting a crown in friendship with France, for another that was not less so. The late queen was mentioned on this occasion, but without one word in her praise.

After this, his majesty being desirous to discourse longer and more familiarly with me, he made me ascend all the steps leading to the throne. I took this occasion to make my personal compliments, for which he thanked me with an air of sincerity and affection. He did not conceal from me the information which he had received from Paris of the discourses attributed to Henry, to me, and to my brother, after his return from Scotland; he confessed that he had for some time believed them, but that he had at last discovered the whole to be only an artifice of our common enemies, who, by using such means, to open themselves a passage to universal monarchy, had rendered themselves much more odious to him. He exclaimed in very severe terms against the Spaniards, which could not but give great pleasure to Nassau, who was near enough to hear something of what was said; and also to the Flemish deputies, who were present, though *incognito*, having not yet been able to obtain an audience. He spoke of their endeavours to kindle the flames of war among their neighbours with the greatest abhorrence; protested that he would oppose their unjust designs; and talked of the King of Spain as a man too weak both in body and mind to think of the great chimeras of his predecessors. The pleasure which I received from this discourse was sufficient to make me desirous of continuing it. I told the King of England that he was extremely happy in being so well acquainted with the character of the Spaniards only by the experience of others, but that it was not so with the King of France: to prove which, I instanced what they had done since the conclusion of so solemn a peace as that of Vervins —the revolt of Biron, the war of Savoy, and some other grievances. I added, that such was the artifice of the Spanish councils, that to put the charge upon Europe in regard

to its injuries, they always began by complaining first: a conduct equally dangerous and detestable with that which they usually practised, of treating with their neighbours only with the premeditated intention of deceiving them, even by that security which treaties ought to give. James replied, that all this he knew very well. In a word, I could no longer doubt that the resentment which he showed against Spain before so many witnesses, was as sincere as it was violent. From this moment the first dawn of hope began to appear in my favour.

The King of England changed this subject to that of hunting, for which he discovered an extravagant passion. He said that he knew very well I was no great lover of the chase; that he had attributed the late success of this sport to me, not as Marquis of Rosny, but as ambassador from a king who was not only the greatest prince, but the greatest hunter in the world; and added very politely, that Henry was in the right not to carry me to the chase, because I was of greater service to him elsewhere; and that if I pursued the chase, the King of France could not. I replied that Henry loved all kind of exercises, but that none of them made him neglect the care of his affairs, or prevented him from a close inspection into the proceedings of his ministers; being far from that blind credulity which the King of Spain had for the Duke of Lerma. Hereupon James said, that without doubt I had found it very difficult to regulate the finances, and resist the importunities of the great men of the kingdom; and of this he produced some instances, of which I had lost the remembrance. He then suddenly asked me, as it were by interrupting himself, how the King of France did? I judged, from the manner in which this question was asked, that endeavours had been used to persuade this prince that Henry, since his late indisposition, could not live long; that he had given credit to it; and that this opinion would be the most powerful motive to prevent his union with France, as he could have but little dependance upon a king in his minority. I endeavoured, therefore, to undeceive him in regard to all these false reports, in which I succeeded. But he further said, that he had been told one thing in regard to Henry for which he was extremely sorry, and this was, that his physicians had forbidden him the chase. To this

I replied, that such advice was, perhaps, what he himself would do well to pursue; for, in reality, James had but lately narrowly escaped breaking his arm in the chase, the manner of which accident he related to me.

When I acquainted Henry with this part of our conversation, he, in his answer, ordered me to tell the King of England, that, in consequence of the advice of his physicians, he was more moderate in his hunting than he used to be, and that since my departure he had been at the death of five or six stags without the least inconvenience. "Well," said the King of England to me, still continuing the same subject, "I understand you have sent part of the produce of my sport to Count d'Aremberg; and how do you think he received it? I assure you it was not at all agreeable to him. He says you sent it only to show that you were more regarded than he; and he is in the right, for I will surely make some difference between my good brother the King of France, and his masters, who have sent me an ambassador who can neither walk nor speak; he demanded an audience of me in a garden, because he could not walk up-stairs into a room." James then asked me whether the Spanish ambassador who had been sent to him had passed through France; and upon my replying that he had, "Spain," said he, "sends me an ambassador post, that he may arrive the sooner, and finish our affairs in post-haste." Thus upon every occasion he inveighed against the Spaniards. Taxis,* courier-major to his Catholic majesty, had, in effect, taken his route through France into Flanders, from thence to repair to London; and this journey he had performed with great expedition, though his orders extended no further than merely to discover the intentions of the King of England. The real ambassador was Velasco,† Constable of Castile, who soon followed him.

After all this, James asked me (for he did not dwell long upon one subject) whether I went to the Protestant Church in London? Upon my replying that I did, "Then," said he, "you are not resolved, as I have been informed, to quit our religion, after the example of Sancy, who thought by

* John Taxis, Count of Villa Mediana. [He did not arrive in England till after Sully quitted it.] (See some curious particulars respecting him in Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. pp. 172-6.)

† John Ferdinand de Velasco, Duke of Frias.

that condescension to make his fortune; but, by God's providence, he did just the contrary." I treated this report as a calumny, and said that my living in France in friendship with so many ecclesiastics, and being so frequently visited by the pope's nuncio, might, perhaps, have given rise to it. "And, in talking with the nuncio," said James, "do you give the pope the title of Holiness?" I replied, "That to conform to the custom established in France, I did." He was then for proving to me, that this custom was an offence against God, to whom alone this title could justly belong. I replied, that I supposed that a greater crime was not hereby committed, than by the frequent giving to princes such titles as they were well known not to deserve. He spoke to me of Du Plessis, and appeared somewhat concerned for his fortune and present condition. He said that I ought not entirely to forget him; that it was true he had been greatly to blame, to publish his last book under his own name; because by the titles which he therein gave himself, he obliged the King of France to take notice of it; but that this ought not to obliterate the remembrance of the services which he had rendered the Protestant religion. He said not a word to me either of Holland or the Duke of Bouillon; but he highly approved Henry's chastisement of the Duke of Savoy, who was, he said, an ambitious and turbulent man.

I think I have omitted nothing of any consequence of what was said to me by the King of England in this my first audience. When he was inclined to put an end to it, he entered into his cabinet, saying it would be time for me to go to supper, and to my repose. Upon my coming out of the chamber, I was accosted by Admiral Howard, Lord Mountjoy, and Stafford, and the lord chamberlain. Erskine, in conducting me across the court of the palace, spoke to me of his attachment to his most Christian majesty, and his desire of being ranked amongst the number of my friends. The Earl of Northumberland, who had received me at my landing, and who again attended me to the river upon my departure, said pretty nearly the same to me. No one amongst the English lords has more understanding, capacity, courage, or possesses more authority than this nobleman; he manifested a great desire to have a private conversation with me upon

the present affairs. I gathered from what he said, though he did not speak in plain terms, that he was not satisfied with the government; that he blamed the greatest part of the king's actions; in short, to say it in a word, that he had no great share either of fidelity or esteem for James. It is not necessary to say with what reserve and circumspection I listened to such discourse.

The open declaration which the King of England had made against Spain, had given me some hopes that the court of London would be insensibly prejudiced against that power. In the interval between my first and second audience, several things happened which increased these hopes. An English Catholic, who was likewise a Jesuit (as was at first reported), was seized in the habit of a poor traveller, and being questioned, he confessed that he had disguised himself in this manner, to deliver the Catholic Church from the oppression of the new King of England, unless he re-established the Romish religion in his dominions solely, or, at least, with privileges equal to those enjoyed by the Protestants, and unless he likewise declared himself against the Protestants of Holland; that eight other Jesuits had conspired with him in this design, and that they had actually dispersed themselves in different parts of London, in order to embrace any opportunity that might offer to destroy this prince. But the report was false in regard to the person of this suspected Englishman, for he was not a Jesuit,* but only a Seminary priest. Had the truth of all the other circumstances been equally well discovered, probably the whole affair would have been reduced almost to nothing; but this was not done. James, according to his character, taking umbrage immediately, imagined that the reason Count d'Aremberg deferred demanding his audience, was not on account of his indisposition, which was dissembled, and that he only waited till the supposed conspirators had accomplished their design, or, at least, till by their intrigues in the kingdom they had occasioned a revolution which would have released him from his obligations to wait on the king at court.

It is inconceivable to what a length this frivolous suspicion

* De Thou, no more than M. de Sully, charges the Jesuits with having any concern in this conspiracy, which is the same that will be mentioned in a subsequent page.

was carried. The queen was at the same time coming to London. This, it was said, was to favour the Spanish faction, which so disturbed James, that he immediately sent the Earl of Lennox expressly to forbid that princess to continue her journey; but whether the earl could not, or rather chose not to succeed in his commission, the queen did not obey. Lennox was recalled, and the king remained only the more perplexed. After his example, his ministers, courtiers, and particularly the old court, being prejudiced in favour of the maxims of the preceding reign, began to show themselves greatly disgusted both with the queen and with Spain. They called to mind the conduct and policy of Elizabeth, who had lived in a perpetual mistrust of the court of Madrid. And now they lavished upon her those praises of which they had been before so sparing, and seemed displeased with themselves at the indifference they had shown to her memory; nor must I forget that it was not without doing violence to myself, that I refrained from following such a general example.

I believe the Spanish faction, during all this, was in no little pain; for instead of talking, as before, only of peace and neutrality with all the world, nothing was now more common than to hear it said, that so far from having any dependance on what Spain called her friendship and alliance, it was not even safe to contract with her; that the ambassador of this court had not dared to present himself in London, and that most certainly he could not come thither, for fear of becoming the object, and perhaps the victim, of the public indignation. The conduct of his Catholic majesty was contrasted with that of his most Christian majesty. Henry's procedure appeared so open and ingenuous, and so far from all deceit, that it carried conviction with it; he would never have sent into England, it was said, the man who, of all others in his kingdom, was most necessary to him, to machinate a deceit unworthy of them both; nor would I myself, in quitting the court, have thereby left an open field to the malignity of my enemies, only to come and act one of those characters, whose conclusion is generally that of beholding oneself at once both dishonoured and sacrificed to the public indignation. In short, if a union between the two crowns, which I proposed, was not in all respects the best conduct that they could pursue, it was at least the safest;

for what would Spain be able to do, when the two confederate kings should consider all dangers which might happen to either, as equally common to both? It was thus that they sometimes reasoned in the council, and in the presence of the King of England, very much to the satisfaction of those councillors who were in our interests, and who neglected no opportunity of gaining the prince to their party. Lord Mountjoy, whom I had made my intimate friend, on account of the almost public profession which he made of attachment to France, here used his utmost interest and endeavours.

But all this only dissipated part of my fears; I perceived so many other obstacles, that they almost entirely discouraged me; what I might expect from the queen only appeared almost insurmountable. My apprehensions from the secretary Cecil were but little inferior to those from the queen. He was at this time separated from his former friends, and had united with the Scots. I endeavoured to penetrate into the real motives of this separation; for I was strongly persuaded of the insincerity of this subtle minister's proceedings. Perhaps his hopes might be, in time, to become the head of the Scotch party, and afterwards to unite it with the English, whom he might have abandoned only in appearance; but these Scotch lords were so difficult to manage, and so much upon their guard against the English, that he could not but be baffled, notwithstanding all his efforts; and he was himself too penetrating not to be perfectly sensible of it. Accordingly, it was said (and when I became acquainted with the arts of this minister I was myself of the same opinion) that he had sought the Scots, who were real confidants and favourites of his majesty, only to make himself known, and render himself necessary to this prince; that having succeeded thus far, he knew perfectly well how to centre all power in himself, and, by making use of the king's name and authority, would silence the queen, the English, and even the Scots themselves, or at least would leave to those he should judge proper only some faint shadow of favour, and would then reassume his real character. And, what is most remarkable, it was not unlikely that this subtle man was himself the dupe of the Scots, who pretended to be such to him; for is it possible that Cecil, known in England by every one to be the most ambitious and most tenacious of

power of all men, should remain unknown only to them? But no doubt they all knew that the prince's ear was not alone sufficient to maintain them at the head of affairs, with which they were not in the least acquainted, and of which the secretary only could give them the best information.

Supposing also that the Scottish party was undoubtedly firm in the interests of France, there still remained a material doubt whether so haughty a people as the English would submit to be governed by foreigners, and more especially by the Scots, who at all times had been the object of their aversion: and, besides, it was far from being certain that the Scots would always continue to possess the king's favour; for the regard which he already began to show to the Earl of Essex, Southampton, and Lord Mountjoy, plainly proved that they might easily lose their influence. Lastly, to increase this unpromising aspect, the two kings of Sweden and Denmark, whose representations might have been of great weight in determining this prince, and who had hitherto been so unanimous with Henry, that they had concurred in all his designs, now either did it not at all, or did it with such indifference that their example was far from inspiring a proper resolution. In the frequent conferences which I had with their ambassadors, in presence of the Earl of Mar, Lord Mountjoy, and Erskine, who was present three times, as being a common friend, they made me the fairest speeches imaginable; their aversion to Spain appeared equal to mine; they even proceeded so far as to draw up a kind of scheme, whereby they ratified whatever Henry might do for all of them, even in regard to the division of conquests, which they agreed might easily be performed by means of a firm and durable union. But our conference being ended, they no longer remembered any of their promises, and beheld nothing but obstacles, in regard to which they had kept a profound silence in my presence. A strange behaviour this! from whence, however, I made some discovery of what sort of men I had to deal with.

Lord Mountjoy told me one day in confidence that he had been present at a meeting of these ambassadors, wherein only those of his majesty's council and the States' deputies were admitted; that here, instead of labouring mutually to strengthen themselves in laudable resolutions, each of them

had only sought to draw himself out of the affair. He gave me an account of their deliberations. The Danish deputy represented that indeed his master possessed a great extent of territory, but for the most part barren, and, by the inconvenience of its situation, rather expensive than profitable; that the submission and tractableness of the people was an advantage of no use to the king his master, because, from the prodigious variation of their manners and customs, he could neither understand them, nor could they understand one another; and that he was now actually engaged in endeavours to establish a general and uniform regulation among them, which did not permit him to be concerned in any other enterprise. The Swede said, it would be highly imprudent for his master to engage in a foreign war, because his nephew, the King of Poland, had not yet forgotten his pretensions to the crown of Sweden, but, on the contrary, seemed disposed to renew them with more vigour than ever; so that the preservation of his own dominions might probably find him sufficient employment. Barnevelt, in the name of the rest of his brethren, explained himself in a manner so different from his usual complaints, that I confess I am at a loss to conceive what could be the intention of so strange a procedure: he spoke of Spain only with contempt; in the revolt of the Spaniards and the forces of the States he found resources sufficient to preserve them from all oppression; he seemed no longer to despair of the success of Ostend as formerly, and intimated that his masters had conceived a design which would more than indemnify them for that loss, supposing it should happen. The English ministers, taking their text from a saying of the King of England, "That every new king, if he had the smallest degree of good conduct, ought at least to let a year and a day pass before he made any innovation, though of the smallest consequence," concluded unanimously that it would be most prudent to wait, and they remained firm to this determination. If we consider these geniuses of the North* with some little attention, we shall perceive that they constantly preserve some affinity with the nature of their

* The times are changed; and I do not doubt if the author had lived in our days, but he would have done justice to the wisdom and policy of some of the Northern Powers.

climate; they have but little vigour of thought, few resources in their imagination, little constancy in their resolutions, and not the least tincture of good policy. The example of Elizabeth is an exception to this rule, and is so much the more glorious to that great queen.

I now only wanted to be as well acquainted with the Spanish councils as I was with those of England and the North; or, in other words, I wanted only to know what were the real designs of that crown, what propositions she had already made to the King of England, how they had been received, and, finally, what steps she intended to take for the accomplishment of her desires; for barely to understand that the King of Spain sought to detach England from France and the Low Countries was knowing nothing, or at most but very little. It was suspected that Spain meditated something of much greater importance; this might be conjectured from the information which I had already received from the canon at Canterbury; and it appeared so much the less to be neglected, because Aërsens and Barnevelt both at the same time affirmed the certainty of it, the one at Paris, the other at London. I therefore used my utmost endeavours to come at the truth. What I was told by Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh was conformable to this information: but what made the greatest impression upon me was, that the Earl of Northumberland, whom I had gained by the offer of a considerable pension, under the name of a present, sent his secretary with great secrecy one night when I was going to bed, to acquaint me with the following particulars.

From the moment King James ascended the throne of England, said this secretary, the King of Spain has not ceased to solicit him, either by his own agents, or those of the archduke, or by the English Catholics, to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with him against France and the United Provinces, whom he calls their common enemies. He has omitted nothing which might persuade him that both of them, but more especially his Britannic majesty, have so clear and incontestable a claim to several provinces in France, that it would be shameful in them not to make use of it at a time when the exhausted condition of that kingdom presented so fair an opportunity: and the means proposed by Spain to secure the success of this enterprise were, that

James and his Catholic majesty should, at the same time, demand of France the restitution of Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou, for the King of England; Brittany and Bourgogne for the King of Spain; and, upon a refusal, to fall upon these provinces with all their united forces. His Catholic majesty, for this purpose, has even offered to draw all his forces out of the Low Countries, to renounce, moreover, all his pretensions upon the United Provinces, and grant them that liberty which they so ardently desire, upon a supposition, however, that in consideration of this favour they would consent to strengthen the League by joining it, and by concurring in all their designs. The King of England having made no answer to all these great offers, further than by saying that they were premature, and that he chose to begin his reign by gaining a knowledge of all his new subjects, and by strengthening himself upon the throne, Spain easily perceived that this reply was a civil refusal; and James not being disposed by open force to attempt the recovery of his ancient possessions, Spain then turned her endeavours to persuade this prince at least to favour the French provinces in their design (of which she informed him) to erect themselves, after the example of Switzerland, into an independent republic. All this has been represented to James to be extremely easy to effect. It has been said, these provinces impatiently waited a favourable opportunity to shake off their insupportable yoke; the Spanish emissaries, seconding these dispositions, have everywhere reported that it only depended on themselves whether they would enjoy a profound tranquillity without taxes, subsidies, or military garrisons, under shelter of the two crowns their protectors; and that they had no cause to apprehend either the resentment of Henry or the violence of his troops, because care would be taken at the same time to involve him in so many other perplexities, that he would be under a necessity of suffering them to prescribe their own laws. We do not yet hear, added the secretary to the Earl of Northumberland, what answer James gave to this second proposition; we conjecture that it was not more favourably received than the former, because the Spanish emissaries, in their conferences with his Britannic majesty, have several times been obliged to change their system, or successively to repeat the same

again with different modifications. Sometimes they have offered him the whole force and all the treasures of Spain, to use them against France in whatever manner he should think proper, without requiring anything more in return than that he should conclude no treaty without their consent, nor should concern himself in any manner in their quarrel with Flanders; at other times they have descended only to desire that he would give no assistance to the United Provinces.

If the whole of what was here related to me was true, it might from thence be concluded that France, without knowing it, was actually in the most imminent danger, because a single word of approbation from King James would have drawn upon her a most terrible storm. But for my own part I confess that to me this appeared so extravagant, and so much beyond the bounds of probability, that, from whatever places it might be confirmed, I could not believe that Spain would ever think of proposing to King James anything like the first propositions which are here related. Supposing all difficulties were removed between Spain and England in regard to the armament and the partition, which, however, would be no inconsiderable discussion, yet had they well considered how many other difficulties would arise from a difference of religions, interests, manners, and customs, as well between themselves as the French provinces which they supposed conformable to their sentiments?

That article which concerns the United Provinces alone destroys the whole of this project. If Spain began by endeavouring to subject them, this crown and that of England could not be ignorant that such an enterprise was alone capable to destroy, or at least for a considerable time to prevent, the execution of their common designs, because France, being once convinced that her own safety depended on the prevention or retarding of this conquest, would have considered assisting the States as defending herself; and if Spain proposed to gain these provinces in her interest, she would therein have been more grossly deceived; for no offer—not excepting even that of liberty—would have been able to reconcile them with their most mortal enemy, much less to incline them to assist her in her conquests, and that, too, of their ancient and only ally. I am not ignorant of the man-

ner in which the States' deputies have always thought; they have, upon all occasions, constantly said that Spain deceived them, that England trifled with them, and that France alone was favourably disposed towards them, and if they have sometimes talked in a different manner—as in the conference above mentioned—it was either to excite the French to make still greater efforts in their favour, or to inspire the English with the sentiments of France in regard to them: besides, will any one believe that Spain would voluntarily relinquish territories which her own force might acquire?

In regard to the informations which Henry and I received on this head, neither the canon of Canterbury, nor Barnevelt—who, with Aërsens, must be considered only as one, because the former received his information from the latter—could be sufficiently depended upon. The first might have been deceived, and the second might have sought to deceive us, which deceit was not ineffectual in promoting the success of their affairs. In regard to the three English lords, I was so far from depending upon what they said, that, on the contrary, I suspected they were themselves the sole authors of the whole scheme, and that they had concerted it together, and then, with proper alterations, presented it to the King of England, to me, to the States' deputies, and to the public, thereby to appear as persons of consequence—which was quite suitable to their characters. In regard to Spain, I made no doubt but she would be pleased to hear such reports spread, and even that she would gladly use her endeavours to make them be believed, not with any intention seriously to confer with his Britannic majesty concerning them, nor even that they should come to his ears, but only with a design to increase the discord, and augment the number of the seditious in those provinces of France which were interested therein. It was on these terms that I wrote on this subject to Henry, who sometimes considered the whole as an artifice of the States to accelerate a rupture between him and Spain, and sometimes believed it true in regard to the latter, who, from a desire to destroy Henry, and a hope of profiting from the inexperience of James, attempted everything. I told Henry that, though all these schemes ought to be treated only as chimerical, it would be proper, nevertheless, to be attentive to whatever passed in Poitou, Auvergne, Limosin, Pays

d'Aunis—in short, through all Guienne, in which places they were capable of producing the same bad effects as though they had been true.

The day after my audience, being the 23rd of June, and a day on which his British majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on several persons, he sent to acquaint me that he would grant me a second audience the day on which I myself had desired it, being Wednesday, the 25th; that I should be with him at two o'clock, and bring but few persons with me, in order to prevent the inconveniences caused by great numbers, and, as he said, that he might confer with me alone with greater freedom. Upon this occasion I was accompanied from London to Greenwich by Lord Hume, who in France had the honour of seeing and discoursing with his most Christian majesty. I took some refreshment in the apartment wherein I was conducted to wait till I could be introduced to the king; and here I was accosted by little Edmonds, who made me a long discourse, in which he complained that he was not treated so well as his past services, and his knowledge of the affairs of France, deserved.* The Earl of Northumberland put an end to our conversation by coming to require my appearance in the king's apartment.

Immediately upon my entrance his majesty arose, and, having commanded that no one should follow him, he conducted me through several apartments into a little ordinary gallery, wherein we held our conference. I began it by thanking his majesty for having thus given me an opportunity to disclose myself to him on the subject of my commission, without reserve, and without witnesses: "Not," said I, "that the king my master has sent me to require anything of your majesty, but only to be informed of your intentions in regard to affairs wherein your majesties may both be equally concerned, and that the king my master may conform to them as a good brother." The King of England replied that the manner in which he plainly saw the King of France and I acted with respect to him, required that he should not conceal anything from me, and that he would therefore discover to me his most important secrets. He then, in a few words,

* Edmonds had been agent, and afterwards ambassador from Elizabeth to Henry IV. during the wars of the League; and he had really acquired a perfect knowledge of the affairs of France.

pretty justly described the present political affairs of Europe, "in which," he said, "it is necessary to preserve an equilibrium between three of its powers"—meaning the houses of Bourbon, Austria, and Stuart. He said that of these three powers, the House of Austria in Spain, from the spirit of dominion with which she was possessed, was the only one who sought to make the balance incline in her favour; that a knowledge of this unjust design was the cause that the King of France and he, though in appearance in peace with that crown, were, however, really thought secretly at war with her; that Spain was not ignorant of it, but that she could not complain, she having herself set them the first example—to Henry by her combination with Marshal Biron and the disaffected in France, by the succours she had given the Duke of Savoy when at war with his most Christian majesty, by the enterprise upon Geneva—finally, by several other proceedings of the like nature; to him, by instigating and encouraging the Jesuits and the English Catholic faction (from hence it appears that the affair of the Jesuit had gained but too much credit with James); but that all this could, by neither side, be considered as sufficient cause for an open war, and, as they were upon equal terms, it would therefore be best to avoid it, by continuing, as before, secretly to favour the enemies of Spain, though with a resolution to pursue more vigorous and effectual measures in case Spain should herself resolve upon any open rupture.

I very highly applauded such laudable sentiments, and indeed they really deserved it, nor could I have said anything further on the subject had I not, at the same time, perceived in the person from whom they came a disposition to peace, or rather to indolence and inaction, which in a manner contradicted his words, and seemed to tell me that, having promised a little, he would perform nothing. This observation induced me to tell his Britannic majesty that the plan of conduct which he had laid down to be pursued with Spain was exactly conformable to the sentiments of his Christian majesty; and that Henry only feared it would be insufficient to prevent their one day feeling the fatal effects of the resentment of that power, whose character, upon this occasion, I endeavoured to paint to him in the most natural colours. I represented to James everything which Spain had been

accumulating for one hundred years past—the earldoms of Flanders and Burgundy, the kingdoms of Granada, Navarre, and Portugal, the empire of Germany, the states of Naples and Milan, all the Indies, and, but for mere good fortune, France and England also, both these crowns owing their preservation, next to the firmness of Elizabeth and Henry, only to the lucky incident of the revolt of the Low Countries, and I concluded that as both James and Henry would one day be indispensably obliged to enter into an open war with Spain, in order to sap the foundation of so vast a dominion, it was therefore absolutely necessary now to concert the proper measures for it, that no step might be taken to the contrary; and that this, together with the means whereby the preservation of the United Provinces might be provisionally secured, was all that I had to desire of his majesty. "But," said the King of England, "what better assistance would you that the King of France and I should give the Low Countries, than to comprehend them with us in a general treaty of partition and pacification between them and Spain, upon conditions of which we shall ourselves be guarantees? whereby, should Spain first fail in the observation of them, we shall then have just reason to take arms against her, and drive her entirely out of these provinces; and I consent," added he, "upon a supposition that this will be the case, immediately to determine with you what means and what forces we shall employ for the execution of it." James was not sensible of all the objections to this partition treaty which he proposed between Spain and the Low Countries; or, if he was, he artfully endeavoured to avoid entering into any engagement with me. The council of Spain would not have failed to appear satisfied with what he proposed, but during the delays which the negotiating this treaty would produce, especially with a court whose dilatoriness was one of the chief arts of her policy, Ostend, which was reduced to extremity, would fall into the power of its enemy, and with it a part of Flanders, Holland and Zealand being separated from it; and Spain would in the mean time strengthen herself in what she did possess, and would be preparing the means for succeeding more effectually in her design of subjecting the rest of this state.

I desired his Britannic majesty to bestow some serious re-

flection upon the considerations which I had thus laid before him. He remained for some time in silence, and seemed deeply immersed in thought; after which, in a hesitating and irresolute voice, he said, that it must be confessed I was in the right, that the affair was of great consequence, that he had often thought of it, though his reflections had not as yet produced any effect, and that he had waited my coming to determine him in his resolution. At this moment I penetrated into all which this prince refused to tell me, and I thought I ought not to hesitate attacking him in his inmost recesses; I therefore replied rather to his thoughts than his words, and said that as often as this affair had been debated in his majesty's council, and as often as he had heard his ministers utter sentiments different from mine, his majesty might easily have been convinced that they did it only from some motives of self-interest, because there was not the least room for doubt; that one single examination would demonstrate, as evidently as a million, that it was indispensably necessary to prevent the rest of the Low Countries from being subjected by Spain, because, were she to succeed in this, she might, with the same forces, fall very roughly, and without ceremony, upon France and England. Upon this occasion, without exposing these English councillors so much as I could, by a discovery of part of their intrigues, I so far acquainted the King of England with them, as to make him sensible that I was not ignorant that they had endeavoured to make him turn those forces against France which I wished to persuade him to employ against Spain.

James entered of himself into the sentiments with which I wanted to inspire him, with respect to his council. He told me that he was very far from being of the same opinion with some of his courtiers, in what concerned the ancient pretensions of England upon France; and, besides that the present conjuncture and political state of affairs did not permit him to think seriously about them, he also considered these pretended rights as annulled by Divine Providence, which irresistibly gives and takes away crowns; and by time, whose prescription was more than centenary—which words he repeated several times; that this consideration being of no weight with him, he could therefore previously assure me,

that whatever his final resolution might be, at least he would not suffer the United Provinces, nor even Ostend, to come under the dominion of the Spaniards. That for the present I ought not to require anything further of him, nor press him to a conclusion, till he had first conferred with two or three of his ministers, whose knowledge as well as honesty he was well convinced of; that, besides, from the reflections which I had suggested to him, he was now able to distinguish and resist the voice of passion and prejudice; and lastly, that he would in a short time acquaint me with what might be further necessary for me to know, in regard to his sentiments and final resolution.

I could have wished not to conclude our conference on this head so soon, but James broke it off by saying that he should finish the remainder of it another time, because he wanted now to have some conversation with me concerning the Duke of Bouillon. He informed me that the deputies of the Elector Palatine had strongly solicited him in favour of the duke; but that, not being perfectly well acquainted with the affair, he had refused to concern himself in it at all, through fear lest he should favour a rebel. He desired me to relate to him all the circumstances of it, which I accordingly did, very succinctly, so that he had the whole affair before him. James gave me his word, that however he might be solicited by the Palatine, he would never concern himself in it; and said he wished others would meddle as little in the affairs of the English Catholics. I readily apprehended, by the manner in which he uttered these last words, that they carried with them a kind of reproach.

In order to understand what is here meant, it is necessary to be informed, that some time before the death of Elizabeth the partisans of Spain, having, as usual, the Jesuits at their head, had raised disturbances in the three kingdoms of Great Britain. Though religion was their pretext, their real views were political, either because the King of Spain, as his flatterers had persuaded him, really believed his rights to the crown of England were so well founded, that after the death of the queen he might openly declare his pretensions, or because he sought to involve the successor of Elizabeth in such perplexities as might prevent his engaging in anything else. The Jesuits, upon this occasion, very imprudently, it should

seem, had differed with the English Catholic secular clergy: this was chiefly occasioned by their endeavouring to create a certain arch-priest,* which the English Catholics would not admit of. The affair was brought before the pope, who upon this occasion, for reasons of which I am ignorant, neither concurred with those Jesuits, nor Spain, but on the contrary, listened very favourably to the secular clergy, who had deputed three of their body to Rome, having a passport under the hand of Cecil himself; which is a proof that Elizabeth thought she ought to defend the seculars; and also that she looked upon the others as her real enemies. Henry had been of the same opinion with Elizabeth, and the common interest had from the first determined him to support the English clergy at the court of Rome against the Spanish cabal.

From hence it was that the enemies of France had taken occasion to prejudice James against us,† by insinuating to him that Henry had supported the English clergy only with a design to gain them over to his own interests, and that from the same views with Spain. It was not difficult for me to undeceive the King of England in this respect. I represented to him, that Henry having considered that, to prevent the whole body of the Catholics of Britain from entering into the Spanish interests was a point of the utmost consequence, he had therefore been indispensably obliged to appear in their favour upon several occasions; but that he had

* Cardinal d'Ossat, in his letter of the 28th of May, 1601, to M. de Villeroy, says that, at the suggestion of an English Jesuit, whose name was Father Personio (or Parsons), rector of the English college at Rome, and devoted to the King of Spain, if he was so to any, the pope created in England a certain arch-priest, to whose authority all the ecclesiastics, and even all the other Catholics of England, were to be subject. By this means, adds he, it was proposed to place the greater part of the Catholics of England under the pope's influence.

† The King of England cannot be considered as blamable for having taken umbrage against France upon that account. The same cardinal gives us to understand, that the political views of the Spanish party were by this means to unite the pope, the King of France, the King of Spain, and the English Catholics, thereby to place a Catholic king upon the throne of England. But it is likewise true that Henry IV. was not only ignorant of this design, but also that he had acquiesced with Elizabeth in quite different purposes. (This fact is related in the Septennaire, an. 1604.)

been so far from having any thoughts of entering with them into designs prejudicial to his authority, that, on the contrary, his sole intention had been to oppose this common enemy; and that had the Catholics departed in the least from their duty, or even appeared so to do, he would from that moment have abandoned them.

James was so fully satisfied with this account, that he acquainted me with the regulations which he meditated in regard to the Roman Catholics of his kingdom; in which he said he would be guided by the opinion of his most Christian majesty. He had afterwards several opportunities of being convinced that I had not imposed on him, particularly by a letter which the pope's nuncio wrote to him from Paris, relating to the English Catholics. James answered this letter in a more obliging manner than was usual with the court of London to letters received from the court of Rome; and being perhaps determined by my reasons, he not only entered into the same views, in regard to this affair, which good policy had suggested to Henry, but it also seemed probable, that, to secure the English Catholic party, he would choose rather to have recourse to the pope and his ministers than to any foreign prince. The pope, on his side, did not show himself insensible of this preference.* One Colvil, having dedicated a book to him which he had written against that prince, when only King of Scotland, his holiness would neither receive the work, nor permit the author to stay in Rome. Henry had acquainted me with this circumstance, that I might, if I thought proper, relate it to the King of England: he had been informed of it in the letters which my brother wrote to him from Rome.

Upon my departure, at the conclusion of this my second audience, I was informed that the king was to set out the Monday following to meet the queen; and I judged that the

* We must believe either that his holiness had no concern in the political design which I mentioned in the preceding note, as related by Cardinal d'Ossat, or that, perceiving it had miscarried, he had conceived that of gaining, if it were possible, the King of England, who had at first shown himself so favourably disposed to the Catholics, that it was reported he would become one himself; and that he had only pretended to be of the Reformed religion, in order to ascend the throne without opposition. (See Birch's Negotiations, p. 36 et seq.)

audience which his majesty promised to grant me on Sunday, the 29th, would, on this account, probably be the last I should obtain; and as I was afraid I should not be able to conclude my negotiations in one more, I determined to request another of him before that on Sunday. James replied that he could not grant this request, all his time being absolutely engaged till Sunday; but that he would send his ministers on Friday, the 27th, to confer with me and prepare matters.

Accordingly, on Friday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, there came to me Admiral Howard, the Earls of Northumberland and Mar, Lord Mountjoy, lieutenant-general in Ireland, and the secretary Cecil, who was the speaker. After the first compliments were over, Cecil told me that the King of England thought he could not better show his most Christian majesty how sensible he was, both of the uprightness of his intentions, and his ability in the conduct of great affairs, than by wholly relying upon him in all that concerned the relief of Ostend, and the support of the States.

I was immediately sensible of this secretary's artifice, and the design of it, in thus construing what I had said to the King of England in a manner different from my real meaning. I replied, that indeed the king my master would have been extremely glad to have had some measures taken in Europe, to prevent the invasion of Flanders by Spain; but that he was so far from having sent me to give law to his Britannic majesty, that he did not himself know what conduct to pursue with regard to the affairs of those provinces, with the true state of which he was not even well acquainted; that it was therefore vain to think of penetrating into what Henry might have determined in his mind as to the States, because, in reality, he had not as yet determined on anything; that nothing further could be concluded from what I had said to his Britannic majesty, than that when he should be well disposed towards them, I could engage that the dispositions of his most Christian majesty would not be contrary to his; and, in a word, that I had come with no other design than to be informed of the intentions of the King and Parliament of England.

Cecil replied that he had no design in what he had said to take me by surprise, but only to hear my sentiments on

the present situation of affairs, and to know whether any expedient had been thought of in the council of France to obviate the difficulties which, at London, this enterprise seemed to be so full of, that it appeared impossible to be executed. He confessed, in setting forth these pretended difficulties, that a specific agreement between Spain and the Low Countries would, in the present situation of affairs, occasion the loss of these provinces. Then reasoning from the false conclusion, that there was no medium between such an agreement and an open war with Spain, he endeavoured to show that the war would be still less agreeable than the peace to England, which was already exhausted, though at a time too when great expenses were requisite in consequence of the coronation; and he concluded yet more peremptorily than before, that France must engage alone in the execution of her designs. He added, indeed, that England might in a year be able to second them. The riches and power of France were also a subject which did not escape him. Finally, he attempted, with all the address he was master of, to induce me to declare that the King of France, being resolved to make the business of the States his own, desired no other favour of England than that of a neutrality, to which, no doubt, he would have given his consent with joy.

I gave Cecil to understand, by smiling at his last words, that he had laid this snare for me in vain; and I told him that, without seriously replying to propositions which I plainly perceived he had made only to give me an occasion of speaking, it was sufficient for me to desire him to take notice of one thing, which he ought to know as well as myself, and this was, that England, by suffering France to act alone for some time before she joined her, instead of laying the foundation of an alliance with her, would thereby rather lay the foundation of a rupture, because the one would expect to enjoy the conquests which she might make during this time, and the other would doubtless require to partake of them. I addressed myself personally to Cecil, and told him that, nevertheless, this would not prevent my agreeing with him, in case his proposal for a union with France within a year had been sincere on his part; because the King of France would rather choose to defer the declaration of war against Spain, which he mentioned, till this time, an open war being

altogether as inconvenient to France, in the present situation of her affairs, as it was to England.

Upon this occasion, I thought I ought again to repeat, and in terms the most explicit, that I was not come to propose to the English council a declaration of war from the two Kings of France and England against Spain, but only to represent that good policy required them not to suffer the United Provinces to be oppressed for want of succours, which might be given them without disturbing the quiet of the rest of Europe; and to confer with his Britannic majesty upon the nature of these succours, and the other steps to be taken, both at present and in future, in favour of the Flemish. Upon this, the king's councillors thanked me for the sincerity with which I had spoken; and Cecil, having nothing further to reply, told me that he would go and confer with his majesty thereupon, that he would then converse with the deputies of the States about it, and if I desired it, even in my presence, which I did not think proper to oppose. Having said this, we separated.

Count d'Aremberg, having long deferred from time to time demanding his audience, sent at last to desire the King of England would dispense with it entirely, on account of his indisposition, and that he would only send one of his councillors to confer with him. James did not appear satisfied with this procedure; he, however, granted him what he desired, and Cecil was the person charged with this commission. Cecil, who was perfectly well acquainted with the reports current at that time concerning himself, being desirous to avoid giving any new cause to vilify him upon this occasion, sought to be excused, and desired that he might, at least, have an adjunct, that is, a witness of his words and actions, though he affected not to receive him in that quality. This fact alone unanswerably proves, that he was far from enjoying that favour which he was desirous the public should believe he absolutely possessed. Kintore, a Scotchman, was the person associated with him.

D'Aremberg confined himself wholly to compliments, and to the most general expressions: when pressed to come to particulars, he replied, that he was a soldier, and had no skill in negotiation; that he was only come to hear what the King of England had to say to him; and that, after him, his master

would send a man of business. These words were repeated and spread throughout London, with all the ridicule and contempt they deserved; indeed, no ambassador was, perhaps, ever before guilty of so great an imprudence, nor can one but with difficulty believe it of a people so acute as the Spaniards; it was of great disservice to them in the English council, and brought part of those who composed it to favour me; and if the designs of Spain were not hereby entirely frustrated, which they might have been, it was because this awkward behaviour was repaired by the address of the other partisans of this crown, having Cecil himself at their head, notwithstanding his endeavours to make the contrary be believed; it was even entirely forgotten, when it was said that the Spanish ambassador (who began to be no longer expected) would soon arrive. Cecil, no doubt, waited his arrival, to begin the dissipation he was preparing of my projects, and the other councillors appeared disposed to fall into their former irresolution. I was even informed from a good quarter that it not being doubted but this ambassador would make proposals to his Britannic majesty, accompanied by irresistible offers, part of these councillors had begun to draw up an account of the debts of France and the States to England, whereby, from the sums contained in this account on one side, and the treasures of Spain disbursed in London on the other, nothing might be proof against them.

What was most remarkable in my reception on Sunday, the 29th of June, was, that all the gentlemen of my retinue had the honour of being treated with a dinner by his majesty, and I had that of being admitted to his own table. In pursuance of his majesty's directions, I arrived at Greenwich about ten o'clock in the morning, and was present with him at divine service, in which there was a sermon. He said nothing particular to me from the time of my arrival till our sitting down to table; the conversation turned almost entirely upon the chase and the weather; the heat was excessive, and much more violent than was usual at London in this month. Only Beaumont and myself sat with James at table, where I was not a little surprised to see that he was always served on the knee; a surtout in form of a pyramid was placed in the middle of the table, which contained most costly vessels, and was even enriched with diamonds.

The conversation continued the same as before, during great part of the entertainment; but an opportunity offering for the king to speak of the late Queen of England, he did it, and to my great regret, with some sort of contempt; he even boasted of the dexterity which he had employed to manage her by means of her own councillors, all of whom, he said, he had gained over during her life, so that they did nothing but what was agreeable to him; that it was, therefore, not at this time only he governed England, but several years before the death of the late queen, whose memory did not seem agreeable to him. He then called for some wine, his custom being never to mix water with it, and holding the glass in his hand towards Beaumont and myself, he drank to the health of the king, the queen, and the royal family of France. I returned him his health, and that too without forgetting his children. He inclined himself to my ear when he heard me name them, and told me softly, that the next health he would drink should be, to the double union which he meditated between the royal houses. He had never till now said a single word to me about this; and I thought the opportunity which he had thus taken for it was not extremely well chosen. I failed not, however, to receive the proposal with all possible marks of joy, and replied softly, that I was certain Henry would not hesitate in his choice between his good brother and ally, and the King of Spain, who had before applied to him upon the same subject. James, surprised at what I told him, informed me in his turn, that Spain had made him the same offers of the Infanta for his son, as she had to France for the Dauphin. The King of England appeared to me to be still in the sentiments in which I had left him in our last conference; though he gave me no opportunity of conversing with him in private. He told me, indeed, before all who were present, that he approved of everything that had been done in the last conference between the councillors and myself; that he would not suffer the States to be overwhelmed; and that the next day, the manner in which succours were to be granted them should be settled. For this purpose he gave orders that his councillors should, in the afternoon of next day, repair to London, there to conclude the affair with me. I thought these words sufficiently authorised me immediately to put into the hands of

his Britannic majesty the form of a treaty which I had drawn up and brought with me: and this I accordingly did in the presence of his ministers. Having found means, in the course of the conversation, to drop some few complaints of the piracies of the English upon the French, the king said that this happened contrary to his intentions; and he was even angry with the English admiral, who appeared himself inclined to vindicate what had been done. At last, he quitted the company to go to bed, where he usually passed part of the afternoon, and sometimes even the whole of it.

The journey which James was to have made having been prevented or deferred, I hoped I should, without difficulty, be able to find an opportunity of telling him what I had yet to say; and this gave me some consolation for having done so little on Sunday. For notwithstanding what has here been said of resolutions and succours in support of the States, I was not ignorant that affairs were not as yet brought to the issue which I desired; for the King of England still referred me, for the conclusion of them, to the same persons as before; and these, I very well knew, were not disposed in my favour. Nor did Barnevelt and the deputies from hence draw a more happy presage, for they were very far from considering themselves as having succeeded in their offensive and defensive alliance with France and England, with which they had sometimes flattered themselves. They resolved to make a final effort with me, that they might at least secure France in their interests. For this purpose, Barnevelt repaired to me before any of the others, and after having made me acquainted with his apprehensions in regard to the present situation of affairs, and the effects of the arrival of the Spanish ambassador, which was always said to be very near, he told me that the Hollanders, being reduced to the utmost despair, would abandon everything, and seek an asylum out of their provinces. Barnevelt observed, from my reply, that I was not the dupe of his exaggerations. I told him that it was the English council, and not I, which was to be persuaded, because I was sufficiently convinced the States were really in a perplexed situation. He endeavoured to prove to me that if nothing could be obtained of the King of England, good policy required that France should openly and alone espouse the cause of the United Provinces, before their

strength and spirits were entirely spent and exhausted. I replied, that he required of me what was not in my power, because I had come to London only to enter into an association with the English, if it were possible, and in case they refused this, to know their reasons.

After this, we had some discourse about the towns destined for cautionaries. Barnevelt informed me that Cecil, in a conference with Caron, one of the Flemish deputies, had given him to understand that England, being resolved to maintain peace with Spain, would require Holland to make the cession of those places as a security; and in consequence of this cession, Cecil had only promised him that these towns should be preserved in a strict neutrality, till the payment of the States' debt. Barnevelt, who perceived that this affair appeared to me as interesting as it really was, acquainted me, though with all the reserve which ought to be observed by a man entrusted upon oath with the secrets of his council, that the States had put things in such a train, that the council of London would have many difficulties to remove before it could see itself in possession of those places. But from hence he also inferred, in order to gain his point with me, that as the consequence of this would probably be a war between England and the United Provinces, it was therefore for this reason that he pressed me immediately to join the forces of France with theirs, without which there would be no equality between the parties. I confessed to Barnevelt that I could not blame the resolution of his masters; but that the King of France, upon this occasion, could only lament their situation, not being in a condition to support them with open force against Spain and England together.

In the afternoon, all the Flemish deputies came in a body to assist in the conference; and soon after them the English councillors, appointed by his Britannic majesty, also arrived. Cecil being, as usual, the speaker for all of them, began by saying directly that the King of England was really in the interest of the States. And turning to me, he asked me whether this was not what I desired, and the real design of my commission. I concealed what I did but too plainly perceive from this blunt, hasty procedure of the secretary; and instead of giving him a direct answer, I addressed myself to the deputies, and told them that, two great kings

designing to interest themselves in their affairs, they ought, therefore, justly to represent the state of them, that from a full and perfect knowledge of their necessity the succours which they wanted might be ascertained. Barnevelt, as usual, drew a picture of the miseries to which Spain had reduced them; and these he described in as lively and affecting a manner as he possibly could. But to come more immediately to the business, he said it was necessary that the Spaniards should be driven entirely out of Flanders; and that the States were in hopes of being able to succeed in this in the space of a year, by means which he deduced in the following manner: that the whole force of the United Provinces amounted to about twelve or fifteen thousand infantry, not including the garrisons, and three thousand cavalry, besides fifty ships actually in a condition to serve, with artillery and ammunition in proportion; that, therefore, nothing more was necessary than for the two kings to double these forces, by furnishing an equal number of each as above mentioned.

I was apprehensive these propositions would not be received very favourably; and that I might not appear to authorise the deputies in demands which were really too great, I told Barnevelt that he should have been more careful only to ask what could be granted. I then asked Cecil, in a manner somewhat peremptory, to acquaint me what were the real intentions of his master with regard to what was here proposed to him. Cecil replied that his Britannic majesty would have been glad to have maintained himself in a solid and sincere peace with all his neighbours; that, as far as could be judged from the state of France, and from mere appearances, his most Christian majesty was probably of the same sentiments. Nevertheless, that from the remonstrances which I had made to the King of England, this prince was determined to pursue the medium between his own desires and those of the States—that is, he would consent privately to assist the United Provinces: that perhaps a time might come when more could be done for them, but that at present they must expect nothing further.

The deputies not doubting but this resolution was really fixed, withdrew to confer among themselves upon what had been said by Cecil, who in the mean time continuing his dis-

course, said that the King of England was indeed very willing to assist the States, but that he had no desire to ruin himself for them. He avoided entering upon any particulars in regard to the nature of these pretended succours, that he might not be afterwards answerable for any promises or positive engagements; but he said that, in case Spain should carry her resentment so far as personally to attack the two kings, protectors of the liberty of Flanders, in order to make all things equal on both sides, France must contribute eight thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, and England one-half of that number; and the same rule might be observed in regard to the squadrons which it would be necessary to keep upon the coast of Spain and in the Indies; and he further declared that England had no fund to defray the expenses of these forces, except the money owing from France, which was to be paid in two years; but that the King of England would willingly sacrifice it for the service of the common cause.

I was extremely dissatisfied at the English secretary's thus endeavouring to avoid coming to any positive agreement, by purposely evading the state of the question, and by raising only anticipated difficulties; but I concealed my indignation as well as I could, and replied, that this was not a subject to be talked of in so vague a manner; that it was above all things necessary, without any equivocation, absolutely to determine what should be done in favour of the United Provinces, and for the relief of Ostend; that, after this, whether the council of his Britannic majesty might be inclined to a war, or whether it might be forced into one by Spain, there would be many other considerable matters to discuss, in regard to the following suppositions:—First, that this crown should attack only one of the two kings, or should attack them both; secondly, that the two kings should declare themselves the aggressors; and lastly, that they should endeavour to make conquests upon the Spaniards in the Low Countries.

To make Cecil yet more sensible that he scarce entered at all into the affair, I represented to him that, in case of the rupture with Spain, which he mentioned, to render the superiority in favour of the two kings, that of France, besides twenty thousand men which he would have in Flanders, would also be indispensably obliged to have the same num-

ber upon the frontiers of Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Bresse, not to mention the squadrons of galleys which he must also have to secure the Mediterranean; that it was necessary even now to determine these matters, and to prevent being exposed to a thousand perplexing discussions, sufficient to destroy the harmony between the allied princes. Then, replying more particularly to what Cecil had said, I told him I could not conceive what reason he had for casting upon the King of France the whole or the greatest part of the expenses of a war in which Henry would be only equally concerned with the King of England; that if by such means the British council sought to distress Henry, it but ill understood its interests, nor considered that, though an equality of expenses should be stipulated, France would certainly have other expenses to defray, perhaps even greater than these; such were those for the defence of her coasts and frontiers, which, by diverting part of the enemy's forces, would not be less serviceable to England than to France. I added that, for all these reasons, I thought the English council took a very improper time to demand the payment of the sum lent to France; that Henry was so far from expecting any such matter, that he had given me no orders about it; that I only knew, from the place which I filled in the council of finances, that his intention was to discharge it by annual payments, as had been agreed with the late queen; and that within the current year he proposed to pay two hundred thousand livres; but again, that the British council took a very wrong method to obtain the payment of this debt, by showing, from their unreasonable difficulties and suspicions, that their sole view was more and more to exhaust France; which conduct was very malignant, and absolutely opposite to that of Henry, who, in all his actions, manifested nothing but honesty and good faith, and laboured only for the public good.

What I said did not make that impression upon my hearers which I desired; on the contrary, the English took fire, and protested, if anything further were insisted on, they would abandon the States entirely. Cecil more especially, in this conference, completed his making himself known to me for what he really was: he made use only of double expressions, vague proposals, and false meanings, being perfectly sensible

that reason was not on his side. The moderation and sincerity which I opposed to his ill-designing subtleties, forced him into contradictions, of which he was himself ashamed, when, by a single word, I made him feel the ridiculousness of what he said. Sometimes—thinking to intimidate me—he magnified the forces of England; sometimes he endeavoured to show the advantages to England of the pretended offers of Spain; he watched opportunities to wrest any words which might drop from me or the deputies to his advantage, and even maliciously supposed that we had said things which we never thought of; he proceeded so far as to endeavour to raise discord between me and the deputies, by casting upon me the refusal of openly assisting the States: he, and his colleagues by his direction, demanded that France should immediately pay to England, in part of what she owed, forty or fifty thousand pounds sterling; and he told the deputies that this sum should be employed for the relief of their most pressing necessities, to which they all added, upon my refusal, that it could be imputed only to me, because, said they, all the money in France was at my disposal. If all the merit of those we usually call able politicians consists in thus endeavouring to ensnare the open and undesigning, and to make these bear the blame of their wickedness, while they at the same time enjoy all the benefits of it, a politician is then truly a very despicable character. What piqued me the most was to find these ministers, who were here only to set forth the intentions of the king, impudently substitute their own instead of them; for I knew well, and was firmly persuaded, from the manner in which this prince had talked to them in my presence, that he had given them quite contrary commands.

The deputies, who had returned, and were present during this discussion, having again retired, greatly dissatisfied, no doubt, and in more perplexity than before, Cecil once more changed his battery: he said that, since the King of France could not enter into a war but in conjunction with England, the latter could not do it, unless her expenses were defrayed by France and the States; which neither of them being really able to do, the best conduct, therefore, which the two kings could pursue would be to continue to live in friendship, but without intermeddling with any foreign disputes whatsoever.

This, probably, was what the secretary really proposed; and, notwithstanding the length and frequency of his discourses, was all he had ever uttered with sincerity.

As I did not think proper to make any reply to this, the English, believing, perhaps, that they had gained their point with me, said they would relate to the king everything which had passed in the conference, and would demand an audience from him for me, wherein all things should be expeditiously settled on this footing; that this audience would probably be my last, and that wherein I should take my leave, because after this nothing more would remain to be done. If I kept silence upon this occasion, it was most certainly not because I acquiesced in what they said. On the contrary, the manner in which they had again exposed themselves, and, as it were, confessed themselves to be liars and impostors, had inspired me with the utmost contempt for them; but I judged that expostulation or passion would be so far from making them quit a resolution which they had concerted together, that, perhaps, it might rather tend to promote a rupture; whereas, as matters were at present situated, friendship at least subsisted between the two kings, and as this friendship might be more strongly cemented by a double marriage (which was publicly talked of), some more favourable opportunity might probably hereafter occur. However, I did not absolutely despair of the success of my commission, because I thought I perceived the king had no concern in the designs which his councillors thus endeavoured to put into execution.

To come at a certainty in respect to this was what I proposed in my third audience, for I did not consider as such my reception on Sunday. Cecil had demanded it for me from the king, and this prince sent Erskine to tell me that it should be on the day after the conference here related, and that I should bring but few of my retinue with me, because he wanted to discourse with me in private; and this was further confirmed to me by a Scotch lord, who was extremely intimate with my friend the Earl of Mar. The Lords Hume and Seaford, about noon, came to accompany me from London, and, upon my landing at Greenwich, I was received by the Earl of Derby, who conducted me into the king's apartment. I had with me only four gentlemen and two secretaries.

The King of England took me by the hand, and, commanding that no one should follow him, he led me through his cabinet into his gallery, the door of which he also secured. He embraced me twice, with expressions that showed how greatly he was satisfied with the King of France and myself, and how sensible he was of his most Christian majesty's having sent him the man who, of all his kingdom, was most necessary to him. He insisted that, making use of the present opportunity, I should speak to him without any reserve. This moment, therefore, seemed favourable to me to complain to him of his ministers; and, after the usual complimentary thanks, I accordingly told him that it was much more advantageous to me in all respects to confer with him than his councillors, who, after having very ill executed his orders in the last conference, had also, without doubt, given him a false account of what had passed between them and myself and the States' deputies; and I promised, if he would permit me, to give him a sincere and just relation of everything.

The king approving my proposal, I acquainted him with all that had passed between us the preceding evening. I insisted more especially upon the proposition to discharge the debt owing to England, and on the aspersion upon his most Christian majesty and myself with which it had been accompanied. I added, that if, after having filled my letters to Henry only with eulogies on the generosity, the prudence, and the perfect friendship of the prince to whom I had the honour of speaking, and this because he himself had authorised me to do it, both by his words and actions, I should be obliged, on a sudden, to write to him in a quite contrary style, without having any reason to allege for it, other than difficulties entirely frivolous, the king my master could not but think I had acted the part of a flattering and, perhaps, an unfaithful minister in regard to the interests with which he had entrusted me; and it would besides be considered as the effect of a determined friendship with Spain, from whence, perhaps, a rupture might ensue between the two kings, whose interest as well as inclination required their continuing in a constant state of union. I thought I ought not to hesitate upon informing the King of England that there were several of those whom he admitted into his

council who were neither well disposed in themselves nor well affected to his person; that without naming them to him, he ought to consider as such all those who appeared so little solicitous for his glory and the honour of his crown as to advise him, under the name of an ally, to render himself the slave of Spain; that he would do well to be in some degree diffident of such persons whose characters he was not perfectly well acquainted with, and to be guided rather by his own wisdom than the representations of his ministers.

It was no difficult matter to inspire the King of England with a diffidence of his ministers, for he was naturally but too much inclined to it. The change which I perceived in his countenance when he heard my last words, his gesture, and some expressions that escaped him, convinced me my observation was just; I even thought I plainly perceived that, either from an effect of this diffidence, or from the praises I lavished on him, he was at last in the most favourable disposition I could wish him; I therefore embraced this opportunity to introduce into our conversation some general hints of a project, by which, with the assistance of his Britannic majesty, the tranquillity of all Europe might be secured. Having said this, I remained silent, as though I had been apprehensive of fatiguing him by too long a discourse: but I knew the curiosity of James would be excited by the little I had said; accordingly, he replied that my discourse had not appeared tedious to him, but that it would be proper to know what o'clock it was. He went out, and asked some of his courtiers whom he found at the end of the gallery, and they telling him that it was not yet three, "Well, Sir," said the king to me, returning, "I will break off the party for the chase which I had made for this day, that I may hear you to the end, and this employment will, I am persuaded, be of more service to me than the other."

The reason that induced me to hazard a step of such consequence as that of communicating to King James the great designs upon Spain and all Europe, which had been concerted between Henry and Elizabeth, was, that being persuaded this prince was already of himself inclined to the alliance with France, he only wanted to be determined in this resolution from some great and noble motive; and because, on the other side, his ministers constantly brought

him back to their manner of thinking, apparently because he could not support himself against them, from a persuasion that they opposed his sentiments only through ignorance of them. However, this did not prevent my taking the following precaution, which I judged to be very necessary.

I resumed the discourse, and told his majesty that, without doubt, he had sometimes thought, and with good reason, that a man in possession of the places and honours with which I was known to be invested, never quitted his post but on very urgent occasions; that this was my case; that though my commission was only to require a union between France and England, yet, nevertheless, from the opinion I had conceived of his genius and abilities, which fame had not been silent in reporting, I had resolved, before I quitted the kingdom, to discourse with his Britannic majesty on something infinitely more considerable; but that what I had to acquaint him with was of such a nature that I could not reveal it to him without exposing myself to ruin, unless he would engage by the most solemn oath to keep it a secret. James, who listened to me with a profound attention, hesitated, however, at taking the oath which I required; and, to render it unnecessary, he endeavoured himself to discover what I could have so interesting to communicate to him. But finding that my answers to the different questions which he successively asked me gave him not the least intimation of the affair, he satisfied me at last by the most sacred and solemn of all oaths: I mean that of the holy sacrament.

Though I had now nothing to fear from his indiscretion, I however carefully weighed all my words; and, beginning with an article in which I knew the King of England was most interested—I mean religion,—I told him, that, however I might appear to him engaged in worldly honours and affairs, and how indifferent soever he might perhaps have supposed me to be in matters of religion, yet it was no less certain that I was attached to mine, even so much as to prefer it to my family, fortune, country, and even king; that I had neglected nothing which might incline the king my master to establish it in France upon solid foundations, being under great apprehensions lest it might one day be overwhelmed by so powerful a faction as that of a union of the pope, the Emperor, Spain, the archdukes, the Catholic princes of Ger-

many, and so many other states and communities interested in its suppression; that my success hitherto had been tolerable; but that, perhaps, I was indebted for it only to junctures purely political, which had engaged Henry in a party opposed to the house of Austria. That because these circumstances might change, or because I, who was the only person that would use any endeavours to make Henry continue firm in this political plan, might lose my place and his favour, I did not see how the King of France could resist a party which both his religion and the example of others would call upon him to embrace. That this consideration had long inspired me with the thoughts of finding a person for the execution of this design, who, by his rank and power, would be more proper than myself to accomplish it, and fix Henry in his sentiments. That having found all that I had sought for in the prince to whom I had the honour of speaking, it had not been difficult to make my choice. In a word, that it depended only upon himself to immortalise his memory, and become the arbiter of the fate of Europe, by a design to which he would always appear to have put the finishing hand, though he might not be more concerned in the execution than his most Christian majesty.

There remained only to explain to James the nature of this design, of which, at first, I gave nothing further than a general idea, under that of a project for an association of all the princes and states in Europe, whose interest it was to diminish the power of the house of Austria, the foundation of which should be an offensive and defensive alliance between France, England, and Holland, cemented by the closest union of the two royal houses of Bourbon and Stuart. I represented this association in a light which showed it might be very easily formed. There was not the least difficulty in regard to Denmark, Sweden, in a word, to all the Protestant princes and states; and it might be rendered sufficiently advantageous for the Catholic princes also to induce them to engage in it: for example, the turbulent and ambitious disposition of the Duke of Savoy might be soothed with hopes of obtaining the title of king; and the princes of Germany, with promises to distribute among them those parts of it which the house of Austria possessed, as Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, &c., and to re-

establish their ancient privileges: even the pope himself might be gained, by granting him the property of those countries of which he only possessed the feodality. In regard to the King of France, though I endeavoured to persuade James that hitherto he had had no concern in this project, which I pretended was entirely of my own forming, I, however, said, that when I should have communicated it to him, I could safely engage he would have no thoughts either of retaining any conquests which might be made, or being recompensed for them; though, according to all appearances, the greatest part of the burden would fall upon him, as well by the expenses necessary for carrying on the enterprise, as by his own personal services. I imagined it was most proper to give the affair this turn in regard to Henry, that he might not be under too absolute an obligation.

The King of England immediately started some objections upon the difficulty of uniting so many different princes so differently disposed; the same nearly which Henry had made when we had last discoursed upon it at Montglat, upon his return from Metz: though, from the slight sketch which I had given him of the design, he, however, appeared highly to approve it, and expressed a desire of being more circumstantially informed of it. In conformity with this desire, the following is the substance of what I said to his Britannic majesty.

Europe is divided into two factions, which are not so justly distinguished by their different religions (because the Catholics and Protestants are confounded together in almost all places) as they are by their political interests; the first is composed of the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, Spanish Flanders, part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland, Savoy, the Catholic States of Italy, namely, Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Genoa, Lucca, &c. Herein likewise must be comprised the Catholics dispersed in other parts of Europe, at the head of which may be placed the turbulent order of Jesuits, whose views, no doubt, are to subject everything to the Spanish monarchy. The second includes the Kings of France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, and Sweden; the Republic of Venice, the United Provinces, and the other part of the princes and towns of

Germany and Switzerland: I do not take in Poland, Prussia, Livonia, Muscovy and Transylvania, though these countries are subject to the Christian religion, because the wars in which they are almost continually engaged with the Turks and Tartars, render them in some manner foreign in regard to those of the western part of Europe.

Were the power to be estimated in proportion to the pomp of titles, the extent of territories, and the number of inhabitants, it appears, on the slightest glance, not very favourable to the second of these factions, and the superiority would apparently be determined in favour of the first; nevertheless, nothing is more erroneous than such an opinion, which may thus be proved: Spain, which must here be named the first of her faction (though in rank and dignity she is only the third), because she is in reality the soul of it—Spain, I say, including her dominions in the East and West Indies, does indeed possess an extent of territory as large as Turkey and Persia together. But if it be true (and it cannot be doubted) that the New World, in recompense of its gold and other riches, deprives Spain both of her ships and inhabitants, this immense extent of territory, instead of being serviceable, is burthensome.

If we consider the other powers of this party, we shall everywhere find reason to diminish our ordinary ideas. The pope seems firmly attached to Spain; and, surrounded as he is on all sides by this formidable power, and having no reason to expect succours from any of the other Catholic princes, it is, no doubt, his interest to be so. But as he does, in fact, consider his situation as but little different from real servitude; and as he is not ignorant that Spain and the Jesuits only make a vain appearance of supporting his authority, it may, doubtless, be concluded, he only wants an opportunity to free himself from the Spanish yoke, and that he would readily embrace a party which should offer to render him their service, without running any great risk; and Spain has in reality this opinion of him.

In regard to the Emperor, he has nothing in common with Spain except his name, which seems only to increase the jealousies and quarrels which so frequently arise between these two branches of the Austrian power: besides, what is his power? It consists merely in his title. Hungary, Bohe-

mia, Austria, and other neighbouring countries, are little better than empty names. Exposed as he is, on one side, to the incursions of the formidable armies of the Grand Seignior; liable, on the other, to see the territories under his dominion tear themselves in pieces, by the multiplicity and diversity of the religions which they contain; under continual apprehensions, also, lest the electoral princes should rise and make an attempt to regain their ancient privileges. Indeed, the Emperor, at the present day, all things justly considered, might perhaps be classed among the most inconsiderable of the European Powers: besides, this Austrian branch appears to me so destitute of good subjects, that if it hath not soon a prince, either brave or wise enough to unite the different members of which Germany is composed, it will have everything to fear from the princes of its circles, whose only aim it is to procure the restoration of their liberty in religion and election. I do not except even the Elector of Saxony, though he appears the more sincerely attached to the Emperor, as to him of whom he holds his principality, because it is evident his religion must, sooner or later, set him at variance with his benefactor. But supposing the Emperor to receive all the returns of gratitude which he can expect from this Elector, it will amount to nothing, or but very little, so long as he shall be under apprehensions from the branch of John Frederick, whom he has deprived of this electorate.

Thus, from a thorough examination of all particulars, it appears, that almost all the powers on which Spain seems to depend for aid, are either but little attached to her, or capable of doing her but little service. No one is ignorant that the general view of the princes and cities both of Germany and Switzerland is to deliver themselves from the dominion of the Emperor, and even to aggrandise themselves at his expense. Nor has he any greater dependance on the ecclesiastical princes than on the others. A foreign emperor is what they most wish, provided he is not a Protestant. Nothing could give the archdukes, though Spaniards, a greater pleasure than a regulation by which they should become sovereigns in Flanders, independent of Spain; weary at length of being only her servants. It is the fear of France alone that binds the Duke of Savoy to the Spaniards; for he

naturally hates them, and has never forgiven the King of Spain for doing so much less for the daughter which he bestowed upon him than for her younger sister. As to Italy, it need only be observed, that it will be obliged to acquiesce in the will of the stronger party.

It is therefore certain, that the second of the factions here described has nothing to fear, provided it understands its own interests well enough to continue in a constant state of union. Now it is also certain, that in this scheme these so natural motives to disunion do not occur; and that all of them, even that caused by the difference of religion, which in some sort is the only one, ought to give place to the hatred against Spain, which is the great and common motive by which these powers are animated. Where is the prince, in the least jealous of his glory, who would refuse to enter into an association strengthened by four such powerful kings as those of France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, closely united? It was a saying of Elizabeth, that nothing could resist these four powers, when in strict alliance with each other.

These truths being admitted, it only remains to examine by what methods the house of Austria may be reduced to the monarchy of Spain, and to that monarchy only. These methods consist either in artifice or force, and I have two for each of them. The first of the secret methods is, to divest the house of Austria of the Indies, Spain having no more right to prohibit the rest of the Europeans from an intercourse with those countries, than she has to destroy their natural inhabitants; and all the nations of Europe having also a liberty to make establishments in the newly discovered countries as soon as they have passed the line, this enterprise would therefore be easily executed, only by equipping three fleets, each containing eight thousand men, all provided and victualled for six months: England to furnish the ships, Flanders the artillery and ammunition, and France, as the most powerful, the money and soldiers. There would be no occasion for any other agreement than that the conquered countries should be equally divided.

During this, the second of these means should be secretly prepared, upon occasion of the succession to Cleves, and the death of the Emperor, which cannot be far distant, in such

manner, that under favour of the opportunities which these two incidents might furnish, reasons might be found to divest the house of Austria of the empire, and her other dependencies in Germany, and therein to restore the ancient freedom of election.

The first of the two open and declared means is, in conjunction to take up arms, and drive the Spaniards entirely out of Flanders, in order to erect this State into a free and independent republic, bearing only the title of a member of the empire; and this, when the forces of the allies are considered, will not be found difficult. The United Provinces, comprehending in them Liége, Juliers, and Cleves, form a triangle: the first side of which, from Calais to Embden, is entirely towards the sea; the second is bounded by France, viz., by Picardy, as far as the Somme, and by the country of Messin as far as Mézières; the third extends from Metz, by Triers, Cologne, and Metz, as far as Dusseldorf. It is only necessary to secure these three sides in such manner that they may be inaccessible to Spain, which may be done without difficulty, England taking upon herself the first, France the second, the Electors and the other interested princes the third. All the towns which should happen to be upon this line, except, perhaps, Thionville, which might require to be forced, would, upon a menace to be put under contribution, immediately submit.

The second of the last two means, is for the league above mentioned generally and in concert to declare war against Spain and the whole house of Austria. What is most essential to observe in regard to this war, is, that France and England should renounce all pretensions to any share of the conquest, and relinquish them to those powers who were not of themselves capable of giving umbrage to the others. Thus Franche-Comté, Alsace, and the Tyrol, naturally fall to the Switzers. The Duke of Savoy ought to have Lombardy, to be erected, with his other dominions, into a kingdom; the kingdom of Naples falls to the pope, as being most convenient for him; Sicily to the Venetians, with what may be convenient for them in Istria and Friuli. Thus, it appears, the most solid foundation of this confederacy would arise from all the parties being gainers by it. The rest of Italy, subject to its petty princes, might perhaps be suffered to continue

under its present form of government, provided that these little states were altogether considered as composing only one body or republic, of which they should be so many members.

This is a pretty just account of the manner in which I acquainted his Britannic majesty with the design to which I endeavoured to gain his approbation. I further added whatever I thought might tend to obviate his doubts, and confirm him in favour of it. I confessed that I was not myself able to elucidate the design; that I was not surprised that his majesty had at first perceived great difficulties in it; that Henry would, no doubt, find many in it also, but that they only proceeded from my own weakness, and the impossibility of showing clearly what, to be perfectly explained, required much time and long discourses; that I was convinced in my own mind the design was not only possible, but that also the success of it was infallible; that if anything was found defective in the scheme as I had conceived it, it might easily be rectified by the genius and abilities of four great kings, and some of the best generals in Europe, to whom the execution of it would be entrusted.

I then returned to the alliance between the two Kings of France and England, and I told his Britannic majesty that this alliance being the chief and necessary foundation of the confederacy which I had proposed to him, it must therefore necessarily begin it, without paying any regard to the discourses of prejudiced persons, or being affected by such frivolous considerations as those of the debts of France and Flanders to England. I assured him that England had nothing to fear from France, for that Henry's great preparations of arms and ammunition, and his amassing such vast sums, were only designed to enable him hereafter of himself to accomplish the greatest part of this important design; at least, that I could flatter myself with success in engaging him in it, from motives of glory and the public service, which operated so powerfully upon the mind of this prince. I touched James in his most sensible part, his ambition to immortalise his memory, and his desire of being brought into comparison with Henry, and of sharing his praises.

My earnestness to succeed gave such force and clearness

to my expressions, that this prince, entering into my full meaning, embraced me with a kind of transport proceeding from his friendship for me, and his indignation at the evil councils which they had hitherto endeavoured to make him follow. "No, Sir," said he, "do not fear that I shall ever fail in what we have together agreed upon." He protested with the same ardour, that he would not, on any consideration, have remained ignorant of what I had told him; that he would never forfeit the good opinion which the King of France and I had conceived of him; that he really was what I thought him; that his reflections upon what I had said would yet further confirm him in the sentiments with which I had inspired him; that he would even now engage to sign the plan of alliance which I had presented to him on Sunday, and wherein he had himself made some inconsiderable alterations; that I should also sign it in the name of the King of France, unless I rather chose to carry it with me unsigned, to show it to his most Christian majesty, in which case he gave me his royal word, that, upon my bringing or sending it back at the end of a month or six weeks, approved and signed by Henry, he would immediately, and without the least difficulty, join to it his own signature. He concluded, by obligingly assuring me, that for the future he would do nothing but in concert with the King of France. He made me promise the same secrecy in regard to all persons, except the king my master, which I had been so free as to require of him; and this he extended so far, as to forbid me ever putting upon paper certain things which upon this occasion he revealed to me, and which I therefore suppress.

Our conference had begun about one o'clock, and continued upwards of four hours. The king called in Admiral Howard, the Earls of Northumberland, Southampton, Mar, Lord Mountjoy, and Cecil, and declared to them, that, having deliberately considered my reasons, he was resolved to enter into a close alliance with France against Spain. He reproached Cecil in very strong terms for having, both in his words and actions, acted contrary to his commands; which declaration the secretary received very awkwardly. "Cecil," said James to him, "I command you without any reply or objection, in conformity to this my design, to prepare the neces-

sary writings, according to which, *I will then give the dexter*,* and all assurances to the ambassadors of the States." This was the first time he had distinguished them by this title. Then turning to me, and taking me by the hand, he said, "Well, Mr. Ambassador, are you now perfectly satisfied with me?" I replied by a profound reverence, and by making his majesty the same protestations of fidelity and attachment as if it had been to my own king; and I desired he would let me confirm it to him by kissing his hand. He embraced me, and demanded my friendship with an air of goodness and confidence which very much displeased several of his councillors who were present. Upon my departure, he gave orders to the Earl of Northumberland to accompany me to the Thames, and to Sydney to escort me to London.

* This expression signifies an oath, or promise of alliance, made by presenting the right hand.

BOOK XVI.

[1603.]

Continuation of the embassy and negotiations of Rosny at the court of London—Form of a treaty with his Britannic majesty—Substance of this treaty—Despatches from Rosny intercepted—Audience of leave, and Rosny's last conversation with King James—Presents which he makes in London—His return—Dangers at sea—His reception from Henry IV.—Public conversation between them on the subject of his negotiations—Memoirs of the state of affairs in England, Spain, the Low Countries, and other foreign countries—Rosny resumes his labours in the finances—Henry supports him openly in a quarrel which he had with the Count of Soissons—He entertains the king at Rosny—Journey of Henry into Normandy—What passed in this journey—Mutiny of the Protestants of the Assembly of Gap—Rosny made governor of Poitou—Establishment of the silk manufactory in France—Conversations on this subject, in which he endeavours to dissuade Henry from this design—Remarks on his opinion of wearing silk, and on other parts of luxury—A colony settled in Canada.

ALL that now remained to be done was to put the finishing hand to the several particulars agreed on between the King of England and myself, and signified by this prince to his ministers, and to form them into a treaty, or rather into a project of a treaty, between the two kings; for indeed a document whose final and principal effect was to proceed from the acceptation of his most Christian majesty, into whose hands it was first to be transmitted, could be called by no other name. And upon this occasion I was perfectly sensible of the injury my negotiation received from the unhappy precaution which necessity had obliged Henry and myself to take in the council of France, not to propose anything to the King of England but as of myself.

James being more entirely persuaded than I could have wished him, that I had acted only from the suggestions of my own desires, and for the security of the Protestant reli-

gion against all events which might happen, had never, from the secrets which I had revealed to him, considered me as the instrument of the king my master; and looked upon it as doing a great deal, to engage himself first, upon very promising appearances indeed, that the King of France would concur with him even with greater readiness. But how great the difference between such a general engagement, subject to numberless interpretations, and a treaty in which, by virtue of full powers from the king, I could have inserted, with all possible care and detail, all the clauses and stipulations, and in which I could have entered into all those explanations which form the indissoluble bonds of a political compact. I should not be so bold as to assert that, upon this occasion, instead of the mere formula, I had reason to expect his Britannic majesty's signature of a complete treaty, which it would not be possible for him to retract, had not the murmurs, of which the letters of the Count of Beaumont to the king are full, in regard to this deficiency of a signed blank, been an authentic testimony that I have here advanced nothing from suggestions of vanity or self-love. But I should reproach myself with being guilty of injustice were I to appear suspicious of the good faith of King James; on the contrary, I affirm that no prince in Europe could show himself more jealous of it; but it happens, from I know not what fatality, that the only thing in the world which one would think ought to be the least exposed to the caprice of fortune—I mean a political agreement or treaty, the pure effect of a mind free in its operations, and master of its sentiments,—is, however, the most changeable and uncertain; the contracting parties would in no other instance incur the imputation of having forfeited their word; yet in this they almost always fail in the execution of it, provided they can find the smallest colour or pretence for so atrocious a perjury: as if eluding a solemn promise or engagement were not the same as a direct violation of it. I did not doubt that as soon as I was gone the councillors of his Britannic majesty would use their utmost efforts to render ineffectual what they had not been able to prevent; and I expected that Cecil would be one of the most active for this purpose, for the victory which I had gained over him, the reprimand which he had received from the king on my account, and his confusion

from the conversation which I had had with him, when it came to be publicly known, were so many wounds which altogether had absolutely mortified him.

Nevertheless, it will readily be admitted that I had reason to be satisfied with the success of my negotiation; my own situation in the affair considered,* its conclusion was as happy and advantageous as it could be; for I had gained the glory of having succeeded in an enterprise that was thought to be extremely difficult, without running the risk of being accused of exceeding the bounds prescribed by my commission. The king and his council had it in their option to retrench, augment, or alter whatever they thought proper, in an agreement of which I had neither made them nor myself the guarantees; and this was performing all that it was possible for me to effect. As to its real utility, when considered in respect of Henry's design, to which I would readily have sacrificed all other considerations, if I had not completely succeeded, it was because I could not perform more without showing a disregard to the terms prescribed, not only in my public but even in my private instructions. However, from what I had done, there arose one real and very sensible advantage, and this was, that in a conjuncture wherein there were so many just causes to fear an intimate union between England and Spain, this union was absolutely frustrated, and his Britannic majesty engaged in another, from which he could neither so soon nor so easily return to the former. I therefore immediately set about drawing up the form of a treaty, which having finished, I presented to

* This embassy of M. de Rosny is mentioned with high eulogiums in almost all the histories and memoirs of this time, without taking notice of many modern writers who have spoken of it in the same manner, though some of them, as the authors of Villeroy's Memoirs of State, and of the History of the Duke of Bouillon, had no interest in exalting the glory of that minister. P. Matthieu's account of it is conformable to that here given, even in the most minute circumstances. (Vol. ii. p. 577 et seq. See also the manuscripts in the king's library, vol. 9590, and the first volume of Siri, Mem. Recond. Besides the detail of the Marquis de Rosny's embassy to London, which in every point agrees with what has been said here (p. 226 et seq.), we find throughout this historian many very curious remarks on the council and person of King James, as well as on the affairs of the English court.)

the King of England and his councillors, to be by them finally revised and examined: they read it several times, successively retouched it, and made some inconsiderable alterations; at last it was absolutely determined in the following manner.

The King of England, after returning his most Christian majesty many thanks for the very agreeable manner in which he had anticipated him, and for the quality of the ambassador he had sent him, renewed and confirmed the ancient treaties of alliance between Elizabeth and Henry, and also between Scotland and France; and expressed his intention of applying them personally to himself by the present treaty, which, in a manner, comprehended them all, besides its other principal design of their own personal defence against Spain, and the safety and preservation of their dominions, subjects, and allies, in such manner and at such times as the two kings should judge proper. The United Provinces were declared to enjoy the benefit hereof, and they were the only allies therein expressly named; in regard to whom it was also stipulated that proper measures should be taken, either perfectly to secure their liberty, or at least, that in case they were considered as subjects to Spain or the empire, it should be on conditions which would procure them perfect peace and tranquillity, and at the same time free the two allied kings from all apprehensions of a too powerful and absolute dominion of the house of Austria in these provinces.

However, besides that the two princes mutually engaged to declare themselves openly when either should require it of the other, in order to prevent the effects of the court of Madrid's artifices, it was also agreed immediately to furnish the States-General with succours sufficient to secure them from oppression—the number of men who were to compose these succours was not determined, it was only agreed that they should be sent from England alone, and that the expenses of the whole armament should be defrayed by his most Christian majesty, one half purely with the money of France, the other half in deduction of the sum due from France to England. It was likewise agreed that these proceedings of the two crowns in favour of the Low Countries should be pursued with as much secrecy as was possible, to avoid a direct infringement of the treaty of peace concluded

with Spain. On a supposition that this power, considering this action as an absolute infraction, should make reprisals upon the two protecting kings, the following resolution was taken: if the King of England were attacked alone, the King of France should furnish him with an army of six thousand French at his own expense, during the whole time of the war; and in four years, and by equal proportions, discharge the remainder of his debt. England should act precisely in the same manner in regard to France, in case the storm should fall upon her; the choice of either sea or land should be at the option of the party attacked, nor should England in this case require any part of her debt. Finally, should Spain at once declare war against both the allied princes, in order to act offensively, and at the same time promote the security of Flanders, his most Christian majesty should have an army of twenty thousand men on the frontiers of Guienne, Provence, Languedoc, Dauphiny, Burgundy, and Bresse; he should likewise have the same number of forces in Flanders; and should further divide the Spanish forces, by directing his galleys to cruise in the Mediterranean. His Britannic majesty, on his side, besides an army of at least six thousand men, which he should keep in constant readiness, should send a fleet into the West Indies, and should order another to cruise upon the coasts of Spain. All payment of debts should be suspended, and each should defray its own expenses. The alliance, hitherto kept a profound secret, should now be made public, by a treaty offensive and defensive between the two kings, neither of whom, without the other's consent, should either lay down his arms, diminish the number of forces agreed on, nor begin any preliminaries or conference for an accommodation.

Such was the substance of the projected treaty which had given me so much trouble and anxiety. James signed it, and I signed it after him; after which, I thought of nothing but returning as soon as possible into France, where it was to be changed into a treaty with all the forms. I did not fail to advise Henry of it, from whom, however, I concealed or disguised part of this important information, and likewise the detail of what had last happened to me with the King of England in presence of his councillors; my despatches had been so long, so frequent, and yet so imperfect, and written

in so much haste, that perhaps it was not acting amiss to spare his majesty the trouble, for he must have armed himself with great patience to read them. This, however, was not the only cause of my silence; for the regularity which Henry observed in writing to me, both to inform me of all material transactions in the council of France, and to send me new orders and new instructions, conformable to the several changes that happened in the business of my negotiation, sufficiently persuaded me nothing of this kind either fatigued or disgusted him; but, besides that upon these occasions it is a stroke of good policy always to keep something in reserve, to ensure a better reception upon one's return, I was unwilling to expose the whole secret of my negotiation to the hazard of a discovery. An accident which had but lately happened contributed still more to increase my circumspection. I have not mentioned this in its proper place, that I might not interrupt the relation of matters of greater consequence.

Among the great number of letters which I sent from London, some directed to Villeroy and the council, and others to the king only, one of these last, dated the 20th of July, was never received by Henry, which he discovered from the contents of my despatch by the next post, and gave me immediate notice of it; it was a letter of the greatest consequence. The courier to whom I entrusted it was one of my own domestics, of whose fidelity and honesty I was perfectly satisfied. I questioned him, and he answered, that, upon his arrival, the king being gone to hunt, he had carried the letter to Villeroy, and had given it to one of his clerks; that he did not know this clerk, and had forgotten to ask his name, being at that moment interrupted by Louvet, who also came and spoke to this clerk, and at the same time delivered him several other packets directed for his master. This account I sent his majesty, entreating him to make all possible inquiries about it. After great trouble and many informations, his majesty was able to give me no other satisfaction than that he had been told, and did believe, the fault was in the postmaster of Ecouan.

I had before had reason to be suspicious, and the affair of the clerk, whose roguery I was also well acquainted with, having entirely opened my eyes, I no longer doubted that

there was a traitor employed in the king's office, and even that this could be no other than one of those under Villeroy. I wrote to Henry, and told him, that, notwithstanding his account of this affair, I was of opinion it could only have happened at the time and place which I had described to him in my former letter: this clerk, whoever he was, being gained by the enemies of the State to discover the contents of the letters which I wrote to his majesty from London, could not resist his desire to open this, the direction of which excited his curiosity, for I wrote upon the cover: "Packet to be given into the king's own hands, without being opened." He repented it, no doubt, when he found he could make no use of it, its most essential contents being expressed in a cipher, the meaning of which he could no ways discover; and this consideration consoled me for the loss: but he had committed the fault, and apparently thought it better to throw the letter into the fire, than deliver it opened. I afterwards discovered the truth, which justified these conjectures.

Henry could have wished that I had practised upon the Queen of England, and the prince her son, as I had on King James, thereby to gain a perfect knowledge of both their characters and inclinations; but as, notwithstanding the reports which had been current, this princess remained still in Scotland, and would not arrive for some time, his majesty did not think it a sufficient consideration for me to make a longer stay in London, whilst several other affairs, almost as important, required my presence in Paris; and he was the first to press me to return as soon as possible. This order was perfectly agreeable to me; envy and malice triumph most over the absent; my friends lost yet more than myself from my not being among them. I entrusted Vaucelas,* my brother-in-law, with the care of carrying the Queen of England the letters from their majesties which I had brought for her; and I instructed him in what he should do and say

* Andrew de Cochéfilet, Baron de Vaucelas, Count de Vauvineux, &c. He was afterwards councillor of state and ambassador in Spain and Savoy; he was the brother of the Duke of Sully's second wife. The house of Cochéfilet is mentioned in Du Chesne as one of the most ancient in Perche, originally of Scotland, and allied to the kings of Scotland, of the house of Bailleul in Normandy.

to obtain what the king desired to know concerning this princess.

Whilst I was very busily employed in preparations for my departure, the wound which I received in my mouth, as already mentioned,* broke out afresh, and caused a fever, which retarded my departure for some days, and even prevented my writing as usual to the king. But as soon as I was somewhat recovered, I demanded my audience of leave of the King of England, who had the goodness to spare me the trouble of going to Greenwich upon this occasion, by sending to acquaint me that he would come to London on purpose to receive me, and that he should be at Westminster, ready to give me audience in the morning as early as I pleased, because he proposed to go a hunting the same day, "to dissipate the uneasiness," added he, very obligingly, "which he should feel at my departure."

I attended his majesty so early in the morning, that he was not dressed, and waited near an hour, which time I employed in viewing the magnificent tombs and other curious antiquities for which the cathedral of St. Peter's, Westminster, is celebrated. I was received by his Britannic majesty with all possible marks of esteem and affection; and he replied to the compliment which I made him on the regret I felt at my departure, that his own, of which he had informed me, was also most true, and the more so as he could not hope for my return, because my many and various avocations would detain me in France; but he protested, and confirmed his protestations in the most solemn manner, that by whatever person his most Christian majesty should send back the treaty, of which I carried the form, he would sign it without any further discussion. He spoke of this his new alliance with Henry in a very affecting manner, said he considered this prince as his sole model, as well as his friend, and protested that he should look upon all those who were enemies to him, as enemies to himself. To show me that he had not forgotten any of his promises, he made a kind of recapitulation of all of them. He promised not to permit any intercession or access to him from any of the subjects of the King of France, from whom he required the same deference; par-

* See vol. i. p. 247.

ticularly with regard to any Jesuits who might be found in disguise, either within his dominions, or on board any of his ships; he praised Henry extremely for having banished this order out of the kingdom, and said that he advised him from his heart never to be guilty of such an error as to recal them; he insisted on this article the most; for, indeed, he hated the Jesuits no less than he did Spain; and this aversion was increased by his considering them as his personal enemies; nor did he appear perfectly satisfied till I had engaged, as absolutely as I could, to send these assurances which he required of his most Christian majesty in writing. He gave me two letters for the King and Queen of France, purely complimentary, in answer to those which he had received from them, wherein the article of the French ambassador was not slightly mentioned.*

Being furnished with these letters and the form of the treaty, I resolved to stay no longer than the next day. Having taken my leave of all those gentlemen who were with me for this purpose, I departed from London, taking the same road as on my arrival. Sydney and the English Vice-Admiral escorted me to the sea-side, and took care to provide me and all my retinue with everything we wanted, both for our journey by land and passage by sea.

But I should before have mentioned the presents which I made in England, in the name of his most Christian majesty; they were as follows:

To the King of England, six beautiful horses, richly caparisoned, and the Sieur de Saint-Antoine as their keeper; to the Queen of England, a mirror of Venice crystal, in a gold box set with diamonds; to the Prince of Wales, a lance and helmet of gold, enriched with diamonds; also a fencer, and a tumbler; to the Countess of Bedford, a table-clock of gold, enriched with diamonds; to Lady Rich, a gold box set with diamonds, in which was the King of France's portrait; to Lady Rosmont, a necklace of pearls and diamonds; to Margaret Aisan, a favourite lady of the queen's bedchamber, a diamond ring; to the Duke of Lennox, a hatband, enriched with diamonds; to the Earl of Northumberland, a diamond

* Matthieu, the historian, says, the King of England made the Marquis of Rosny a present of a chain set with diamonds of great value.

brooch; to the Earl of Southampton, a plume of black heron feathers, with a brooch of diamonds in form of a plume; to the Earl of Devonshire, a diamond brooch; to the Earl of Roxburgh, a brooch in form of a knot, held by two Loves, the whole set with diamonds; to the High-Admiral Howard, three dozen of gold buttons, enriched with diamonds; to the Earl of Mar, a brooch in form of a bunch of flowers, enriched with diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones; to the lord chamberlain, a gold brooch in form of an aigrette, set with diamonds, in the midst of which was a very beautiful ruby; to the master of the horse, Hume, a brooch in form of a cross, set with diamonds; to secretary Cecil, three dozen of gold buttons, enriched with diamonds; to Lord Kinloss, a diamond ring; to Lord Sydney, a chain of large grains of gold filled with perfume, and enriched with diamonds, from which hung suspended the king's portrait; to Sir Thomas Erskine, a gold brooch in form of a heart, set with diamonds; to the Sieur *Oleradoux*, a gold brooch in form of a love-knot, enriched with diamonds; to Sir Roger Aston, a gold box set with diamonds, to hold a portrait; to one of Cecil's clerks, a gold cup.

The value of all these presents, including twelve hundred crowns which I left with Beaumont to be distributed as he should think proper, amounted to sixty thousand crowns. Henry's views in making so many rich presents, a considerable part of which were even continued as pensions to some English lords, were to retain them, and attach them more strongly to his interests. I made them partly from my own knowledge, and partly from the recommendations of Beaumont, my chief care being to distribute them so as to avoid exciting any cause of jealousy between these English lords, and to prevent King James himself from conceiving any jealousy of my intention. The precaution which I used for this purpose was to ask his permission to acknowledge, by some small gratuities, the services I had received in his court.

At Dover I received a letter from Henry, wherein he acquainted me that he had arrived at Villers-Coterets on the 9th of July, at which place he impatiently waited for me: he passed some days here, during which the queen made a journey to Liesse. I did not take any rest at Dover, and

ordered all things to be in readiness to embark the next day. The weather was so bad in the night, that the English vice-admiral very seriously advised me to alter my resolution. The least delay appeared no less insupportable to all my retinue than to myself, especially to those city sparks who find themselves out of their element when they are off the pavement of Paris: they all pressed me with such eagerness immediately to quit Dover, and Henry's letter flattered me with so favourable a reception, that I consented to sail as soon as we could. Repentance soon followed our precipitation; we were assailed by so violent a tempest, that we were in the utmost danger; we were the whole day in crossing the Channel, and so extremely sea-sick, that, though there were three hundred of us, had a vessel with only twenty men attacked us we must have surrendered.

A second letter which I received from the king at Boulogne rendered it necessary for me not to lose a moment. At this place I quitted those who had accompanied me, after having thanked them for the honour they had done me, and left them to go wherever they thought proper. His majesty had taken care to order post-horses to be in readiness in all the proper places upon the road, in case my health would permit me to make use of them; I therefore took post at Abbeville, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and arrived at Villers-Coterets by eight the next morning.

I would not take any repose till I had first received the honour of saluting his majesty. I found him in the walk of the park which led to the forest, where he proposed to take an airing on some horses that were to be brought thither to him: Bellièvre, Villeroy, de Maisses, and Sillery, were walking with him, and in one of the walks adjacent were the Count of Soissons, Roquelaure, and Frontenac. Immediately upon his perceiving me, though at a distance, he said, as De Maisses afterwards informed me, "There's the man I have so much wished to see, he is at last arrived; my cousin the Count of Soissons must be called, that he may be present at the brief relation he will give us of what he has seen, heard, said, and done, of which he has written me nothing: let my horses be sent back; I shall not now go into the forest."

His majesty would not suffer me to kneel to kiss his hand, but embraced me twice very closely. His first words were, that

he was perfectly satisfied with my services; that he had not thought my letters tedious, and that he should take pleasure in hearing what I had not related in them. I replied, that this relation would be somewhat long, and could not well be made but as opportunity should present to discourse on so many different matters. I began with the person of the King of England, which I described to him nearly the same as I have already done in these Memoirs. I did not omit either the admiration which this prince expressed for his majesty, or the delight he took on being compared with him, nor his desire to render himself worthy of the comparison. I related the proofs which he had given me of his attachment to France, of his contempt for the chimeras with which Spain had endeavoured to inspire him, and how far he was from espousing the party of the revolted French Calvinists. King James was sensible, from his own situation, how very unfit this last procedure would have been, having so great a number of seditious in his own dominions, that I was very much deceived if they did not one day cause him much trouble. I added, that if I had myself been disposed to give ear to them, the chiefs of this faction had given me fair opportunities to enter with them into very serious enterprises: I mentioned the affair of the lost despatch, and spoke my sentiments of it with freedom. I then returned to the King of England, and acquainted his majesty with what he was ignorant of in regard to my last audience, and, together with the form of the treaty signed by us both, I presented to him the two letters from his Britannic majesty, and another letter written to his majesty, since my departure from London, by the Count of Beaumont, which I had received upon the road. Henry ordered Villeroy to read all those letters to him.

Beaumont, in his letter, acquainted the king that the Queen of England, with her children, was hourly expected in London, from whence she would go directly to Windsor, to reside there with the king; that many were apprehensive her arrival would cause a disturbance in affairs, and might inspire the factious with courage; that, happily, there was no able man among them; that the Spanish ambassador was at last arrived in England, and, with another from the Duke of Brunswick, was said to be actually at Gravesend, from whence they were immediately to proceed to London, his

Britannic majesty having sent ships to protect the Spanish ambassador in his passage against those of the States; that Count d'Aremberg depended so entirely upon the alterations which this ambassador would make in affairs, that, being informed of his arrival, he was gone before him to Windsor, there to wait his coming: nor did Beaumont dissemble his own fears of the effects which it might have on a prince susceptible of new impressions, not so much from what he would gain from the magnificent offers of Spain, as from his own natural timidity, his weakness, and even scruples, lest, in supporting the United Provinces, he should countenance a parcel of rebels.

Beaumont wrote thus from the communication which had been made to him of a plan for an agreement between Spain and the States, designed and drawn up in Germany, of which he even gave the purport in this letter; but he seemed persuaded that the deputies of the Low Countries would never consent to it, though the Emperor should be guarantee of it, because they thought it neither strong enough to oblige Spain to observe it, nor even sufficiently impartial to hope from it a perfect peace with that crown; besides, they had a general suspicion of all propositions wherein France and England were not concerned. He observed, that these deputies were likewise upon the point of returning home, with a resolution to animate their Republic to a vigorous defence, from the certainty my convention with his Britannic majesty had given them that they would not be abandoned by the two kings, and from the permission which James had given them to raise soldiers in Scotland, to be commanded by Lord Buccleugh, whom they had accepted as colonel of these recruits: finally, Beaumont concluded his letter by saying, that, in order to be still more perfectly informed of everything that passed, and to remind the King of England of his promises, if necessary, he was going himself to Windsor. I take no notice of those passages in this letter wherein Beaumont gave the highest praises to my conduct and my negotiation.

Villeroy having finished reading the plan for a treaty, "Well, cousin," said Henry, addressing himself to the Count of Soissons, "what do you think of all this? Give me your opinion of it freely." I readily imagined what reply he

would make, and the count did not deceive me. "Since you require it of me," said he, "I must say, that I think the Marquis of Rosny has very great credit with the King of England, and that he is in a marvellous good intelligence with the English, at least if his relation, and all which you have been informed of, be true; for which reason he ought to have brought much more advantageous conditions, and a treaty in a better form than that which he has presented to you, which is really nothing more than a mere project of hopes and fair words, without any certainty that they will ever be executed." "What you have said is truly very fine and good," replied Henry: "nothing is so easy as to discover faults in the actions of others." His majesty still continued to speak, as if to make my apology, and at the same time my eulogy. He said I was the only person in France who, with so limited a power, could have performed what I had: that my credential letters were not even demanded of me at the court of London, which behaviour was not to be paralleled; that he had foreseen and expected the difficulties with which I had struggled, and that he had not hoped I could have so easily conquered them; that he was perfectly satisfied, and that he only repented his not having given me a *carte-blanche*. "Rosny," said he, "has, in his conduct, given me an example, which confirms to me the truth of a Latin proverb, though I do not know whether I speak it right, *Mitte sapientem, et nihil dicas:* and I am certain, that, if his presence should again become necessary on the other side, he will always be ready to return, and serve me with the same ability and address which he has here shown." I suppress great part of what, upon this occasion, the generous soul of Henry inspired him with for my defence; what gave me the most sensible satisfaction, and which I considered as infinitely superior to all the praises he bestowed upon me, was his adding, that he had nothing to fear from thus praising me to my face, because he knew that those praises, instead of making me vain and less diligent, would only increase my desire of acting still better. These words silenced the Count of Soissons.

I then answered several questions which the king asked me touching the nature and power of the three kingdoms of Great Britain, on the character of the English, and what

they thought of their new king. After this, the conversation turned on the affair of Combaut. Henry, after I had given him a circumstantial relation of it, assured me that he approved of my conduct therein, considering it as equally dangerous either to favour, or pretend ignorance of the escape of the criminal, to endeavour to excuse him, or openly to vindicate him. I also acquainted his majesty with the character of young Servin,* such as I have already given. The king having twice asked whether dinner was ready, went in to sit down to table, having first directed Villeroy to provide me my dinner, and ordered me to go and take my repose till the next day, as being what I must very much want, after having rode post, and that succeeded by a pretty long walk. He ordered my good friends Frontenac and Parfait to serve me from his kitchen, till my own equipage and attendants should arrive; "and to-morrow morning," said he, "we will renew our discourse."

In the afternoon, the king took the airing in the forest which he had intended in the morning; in the evening, he sent me for my supper two excellent melons and four partridges: at the same time acquainting me that I should come to him early the next morning, before any of his councillors were with him, which I accordingly did. Though it was very early, he was dressed, and had breakfasted, when I entered his apartment, and was diverting himself with looking at a game of tennis then playing in the little court of the castle, which was generally used for this diversion. "Rosny," said he, "we will take a walk while the freshness of the morning continues; I have some questions to ask you, and some matters to discuss, on which I have been thinking the whole night. I arose at four o'clock, these things having pressed my thoughts so strongly that I could not sleep." He took me by the hand, and we walked into the park, where we continued near two hours alone. Bellièvre, Villeroy, and Sillery having joined us, the king continued walking another hour with us four. Our mornings were generally spent in the same manner during the three following days, which his majesty passed at Villers-Coterets. In these conversations

* L'Etoile makes mention of him. "It is surprising," says he, "how it could happen, that the plague should find means to attack so great a plague as he was."

I gave him an exact and particular account of all the most secret and important matters which he still remained to be acquainted with.

I received several letters from Beaumont, the contents of which may serve as a supplement to the affairs of England, which I have already related. The arrival of the queen in London did not occasion all that disorder which had been apprehended; the discontented found her not to be what they had conceived. It seemed as though her sudden change of situation and country had made as sudden a change in her inclinations and manners; from an effect of the elegances of England, or from those of the royal dignity, she became disposed to pleasures and amusements, and seemed wholly engaged in them and nothing else; she so entirely neglected or forgot the Spanish politics, as gave reason to believe she had, in reality, only pretended to be attached to them through the necessity of eventual conjunctures. Kintore, who had accompanied her, openly continued his profession of attachment to France. Some ladies, in whom this princess reposed the greatest confidence, positively assured Beaumont she was not so perfect a Spaniard as was believed. Beaumont contrived to get himself presented to her, and made my excuses to her for not having been able to stay till her arrival, nor wait upon her myself with the letters from their majesties.

During all this, the Spanish ambassador, whose arrival in England had been so positively asserted, was not yet come. Count d'Aremberg, who was so far deceived in his expectation as to go and wait his arrival at Windsor, found himself at last obliged to demand without him his audience of the king, who granted it. I am ignorant of what passed in it; I only know that he demanded a second, for which the king made him suffer a thousand delays, which, however, could only be attributed to this prince's distaste of business, and his passion for the chase, which seemed to make him forget all other affairs; for at this very time his conduct and discourse was so far from giving the Spanish partisans any cause to despair, that, on the contrary, he appeared disposed again to fall into his former irresolution. Beaumont did not know to what to attribute this change, whether to his natural dis-

position, or to the insinuations of Cecil, who used all the means he possibly could to make him fail in the observance of his promises. Happily many new incidents concurred to support this prince against all temptations of this kind; and the Spaniards were so imprudent in their conduct as to be themselves the principal causes of it.

No sooner was the Spanish ambassador arrived in London (which he at last reached), than both court and city, and all affairs, were put into a violent ferment, the effects of various cabals, intrigues, mistrust and suspicions. He soon multiplied the number of his creatures, by his extraordinary liberalities to all those whom he considered as necessary to be gained. He endeavoured to tamper with the Scotch troops, and engage them in the Spanish service, as the States had done in theirs; this would have been a decisive stroke, which Holland could not evade any otherwise than with the assistance of her protectors, by retaining these troops in her own service. All these proceedings of the Spaniard, being pursued with a spirit of pride and independence, were so much the more disagreeable to James, as his natural weakness produced in him a repugnance to oppose them by an exertion of his authority. He would have given the world to be freed from his perplexity, by the departure of the ambassador. A whisper was likewise current concerning a conspiracy of the English Catholics* against James's person. Beaumont treated this rather as a calumny than truth; considering, as he said, the weakness of the Catholics in England, and the few men of courage to be found amongst them. Towards the end of this year also was discovered the conspiracy of Raleigh, Cobham, Grey, and Markham,† to assassinate the king, though they had been the most faithful of the late queen's servants, and the first to acknowledge her successor: it was believed they were instigated by Spain and the archdukes. This, added to a religious dispute which arose in the conference between the Protestants and Puritans,‡ increased the disorder. The conversation of the court

* It produced a proclamation, whereby King James banished the Jesuits out of his dominions. (Mem. d'Etat de Villeroy, vol. iii. p. 217.)

† See the different writers of this period respecting this dark and doubtful affair; also Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 215.—Ed.

‡ The conference here alluded to was, I suppose, that held at

turned entirely upon the disputes and quarrels which happened between particular persons. The Earl of Northumberland struck Colonel Vere in the face, in presence of the whole court, and was confined at Lambeth by the king's order, who was justly incensed at so disrespectful and outrageous an insult. The Earl of Southampton and Lord Grey gave each other the lie in the queen's presence, and used several other atrocious expressions; but they were reconciled to the king by asking pardon of the queen for their imprudence, and to each other by an intervention of the royal authority, commanding them to forbear any acts of violence; after which, without any other satisfaction, they conversed together as friends: from whence one would be apt to imagine they were of opinion that the king's name and authority preserves the honour of those who cannot vindicate it for themselves.

When, from the accounts which Beaumont gave me in his letters of all these public and private differences, I found the affair was in the most favourable situation I could desire it, I embraced the opportunity to put the finishing hand to the work which I had begun at London. I did myself the honour of writing to his Britannic majesty; I informed him that the King of France had with pleasure ratified the plan concerted between his majesty and myself, and that he had sent the Count of Beaumont the necessary power to reduce it into such a form as his majesty should judge proper; I repeated the protestations of obedience and attachment which I had before made him; I assured him that by this I was so far from offending the king my master, that, on the contrary, I served and obeyed him.

I wrote at the same time to Beaumont, and informed him of what had happened to me upon my return into France, of my conversations with the king, and his inclination to send me again at a proper time into England. With this letter I also sent Beaumont the treaty, signed by his majesty, and gave him likewise the necessary instructions for maintaining the good intelligence which this treaty established between the two crowns: this would in some measure depend on that

Hampton Court, in the beginning of 1604, respecting some parts of the church service. (See Spottiswode.)—ED.

which should subsist between the ambassador of France at London, and that of England* at Paris. This latter had taken offence at the superscription of a letter, wherein a title had been given him which was either improper, or such as he did not like. I took the blame of this upon myself, and repaired it as well as I could.

Beaumont having received the treaty, acquainted the King of England therewith, who referred him directly to Cecil. He was astonished to find this secretary on a sudden become tractable, give his approbation of it with great readiness, and without making the least difficulty; on the contrary, he was lavish in his praises of his most Christian majesty and myself: all things conspired to promote it; the treaty was therefore received, signed, and confirmed, in the most authentic and solemn manner. Dauval being arrived in France from Beaumont, with an account of this good news, I made my acknowledgments to his Britannic majesty in a second letter; and to employ all sorts of counter-batteries against the Spaniards, who set no bounds to their presents, we imitated them in this respect, and even gave pensions to all the most distinguished persons in the court of King James; the best and most beautiful horses were industriously procured wherever they could be found, and they were sent, together with magnificent furniture, as presents to this prince.

Thus was Spain disappointed in those great hopes she had conceived to our prejudice from the accession of the King of Scotland to the throne of England, and which probably were the cause of those great armaments which she fitted out this year. On the 27th of May, a squadron of twelve Spanish galleys, manned with three thousand soldiers, and completely equipped, were beaten by only four Dutch vessels; which was the second loss of this kind that Spain had lately suffered: Frederic Spinola, who commanded this squadron, was killed in the engagement. Spain, to retrieve these misfortunes, made such preparations on every side for war, as spread a terror amongst all her neighbours; she made herself mistress of the Mediterranean by the galleys that Charles Doria commanded there; and vessels in the mean time were building in the port of Lisbon for the embarkation of twenty

* Sir Thomas Parry.—Ed.

thousand soldiers. This work was pursued with such indefatigable labour, that it was not remitted even on Sundays and holidays.

Every one formed his own opinion on the object of such formidable preparations: some said they were designed against Flanders, particularly Ostend; others, that they were destined for the conquest of Barbary, because the King of Cusco having promised the council of Madrid to assist that crown in the reduction of the important city of Algiers, they provided a supply of men and money, which that prince kept to himself, without being at much trouble about the performance of his word. Many persons were persuaded that Spain had a design upon France itself. The first notice his majesty received of it, was at the same time that he was advised to be attentive to the castle of If, and to the islands on the coast of Marseilles. I was then in England; his majesty wrote me an account of it; but did not seem to give much credit to those informations, although he was not ignorant that the Duke of Savoy was very solicitous to do him this bad office; but he knew likewise that Spain thought this advice of the duke's very interested; and the pope gave him repeated assurances of the contrary, which there was great room to think proceeded indirectly from the council of Spain, who had reasons for not provoking Henry too far.

In reality, all this was unravelled by taking into consideration what was carrying on with King James, by a double negotiation of France and Spain at the same time; and his majesty took the part which prudence directed, which was to give new orders for the strict observation of discipline in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny. Monsieur Le Grand, who had lately obtained that the artillery of the city of Béaune should not be taken away, was sent into his government of Burgundy, with orders to act in concert with Lesdiguières, and to throw himself into Geneva, if the Duke of Savoy seemed to have any intention of making a new attempt upon that city, although the council of France at the same time earnestly advised this little republic to listen to the mediation offered by some of the Swiss cantons, to terminate by an advantageous agreement that kind of tedious and protracted warfare which had so long subsisted between them and Savoy. However, the transportation of arms from

France into Spain, or Spanish Flanders, was prohibited; and Barrault* caused five thousand five hundred pikes of Biscay to be seized at Saint Jean de Luz, which a French merchant of Dieppe had embarked for the Low Countries in violation of this order.

The long stay which was made by Doria on the coast of Genoa, with the galleys before mentioned, was another mystery that could not be found out. He had sailed for the coast of Villa-Franca, as if with a design to take the three sons of the Duke of Savoy on board, who appeared to be waiting at Nice only for an opportunity of being conveyed to Spain; their father, it was said, sent them there to be educated, and to be raised to the first dignities of the State;† the government of Milan, and the viceroyship of Naples and Sicily, being those he most eagerly panted after, probably because he flattered himself that those titles would afford him an opportunity to snatch some part of those territories for himself. But every one was deceived; Doria passed by without landing or stopping at Villa-Franca: nevertheless, there were persons who continued to believe that it had been his design, but that his resentment for Savoy's not paying him certain honours, nor esteeming him so highly as he thought he deserved, had prevented his execution of it; others maintained that it was agreed upon between the Duke of Savoy and him that he should act in this manner, to give the duke a pretence for staying longer at Nice, where, said these conjecturers, he only waited for an opportunity to make an attempt upon Provence; and others again thought they had discovered the reason of his departure, to be an order which they supposed he had received from Spain to go and join his squadron to the great naval armament of the Spaniards; but possibly the council of Madrid had nothing else in view, but to accustom her neighbours to preparations and movements, for which they could not guess the cause. However this may be, it did not prevent the voyage of the children of Savoy into Spain. After a delay of some time longer at Nice, they passed on the 20th of June, within view of Marseilles, without saluting the castle of If; their convoy consisted of

* Emerick Gobier de Barrault.

† The second of these princes was made Viceroy of Portugal, and the third Archbishop of Toledo, and cardinal.

nine galleys: four of Malta, three of the pope's, and two of Savoy.

In the mean time, some other Spanish troops were upon their march from Italy to Flanders. His majesty was the more attentive to their motions, because he was informed that Hébert, who had left France and retired to Milan, continued his former intrigues with the Count of Fuentes; the secret was discovered by a letter that Hébert wrote to his brother, who was a treasurer of France in Languedoc. These troops, as I was informed by his majesty's letters to me at London, quitted Savoy, and passed the bridge of Grésin on the 1st of July; they consisted of ten Neapolitan companies, commanded by Don Inigo de Borgia, and only Don Sancho de Lune remained in this canton with a small body of troops, with a view, no doubt, to hasten the treaty depending between Savoy and Geneva, which was concluded accordingly on the 15th of the same month. The remainder of the Spanish troops that were drawn from Italy consisted of four thousand Milanese, commanded by the Count de St. George, who took the same route.

Notwithstanding these supplies, by which the archdukes received a great accession of strength, Henry was still of opinion that the Spaniards would not complete their enterprise upon Ostend this year; they themselves seemed to think that time alone could effect it, their forces being considerably diminished. The thousand horse that attended the Duke of Aumale were reduced by desertion to less than five hundred, and those that remained were so great an expense to their own commanders, that they expected to be soon obliged to disband them. Such was the situation of the United Provinces during this year, wherein they gained likewise another advantage over their enemies; a small number of Dutch vessels which were going to load spices, meeting with fourteen Portuguese galleys belonging to Goa, gave them chase, took five, in which they found great riches, and dispersed the rest.

Europe, during the course of this year, had not more tranquillity in the East than the West. Mahomet the Third, to secure himself, as he thought, on the throne, caused twenty of his brothers to be strangled. Buried in the recesses of his seraglio, he did not perceive that his mother, to whom he entirely abandoned the government, abused his authority,

and was first informed of it by the Janissaries, who came one day in a body, and in a manner that showed they would neither brook a denial nor delay, demanded the head of the two Capi Agas who directed the council of the sultana-mother, and the banishment of this sultana herself, which he was obliged to comply with immediately. He afterwards put his own son, and the sultana his wife, to death, and was himself seized with the plague, of which he died.

But it is now time to resume the affairs of the kingdom. His majesty having returned from Villers-Coterets to Fontainebleau, I left him in this last place, and went to Paris, to attend my usual employments: these were to make the receivers-general of the districts, and other persons in office, bring in exact accounts; to cashier those who were convicted of any misdemeanour, as it happened to Palot, a receiver in Languedoc and Guienne; to provide sums necessary to retain the old allies of the crown, and to acquire new ones, and the maintenance of those who resided in foreign courts for this purpose; and lastly, by the mere force of frugality and economy, to enrich the treasury, by discharging all the debts his majesty had contracted during the League, and the other engagements of the State, at the head of which his majesty generally placed the pensions he allowed the Swiss cantons, and was always very solicitous to know if they were discharged: the fewer allies we had in Italy, the more necessary the king thought it to soothe and manage them. He made a present of a suit of armour, which he had one day worn in battle, to the Venetian residents at Paris; that republic earnestly requested it of him, and set so high a value upon this present, that they hung up the armour, with a kind of ceremony, in a place where it was publicly exposed to view, and served for a monument to posterity of their veneration of a prince who was so justly famous for his military virtues.

As the new economy which I had introduced into every branch of the revenue cut off the greatest part of those profits which the courtiers and other persons about the king drew from different places, and lessened the presents his majesty made them from his own purse, they fell upon methods to supply this deficiency, to which the prince, delighted with an opportunity of satisfying them, consented so

much the more willingly, as it cost him nothing; this was to prevail on his majesty to pass innumerable edicts, granting certain privileges, and tolls upon particular branches of trade, to be enjoyed by them, exclusively of all others. When this trick was once found, there was nothing that promised profit which did not enter the head of one or other among those who thought they had a right to some favour from the king; interest gave every man invention, and the kingdom immediately swarmed with those petty monopolies, which, singly, are of little consequence, but all together are very detrimental to the public, and particularly to commerce, in which the least obstruction produces mischief. I thought it my duty to make frequent and earnest remonstrances to the king on this subject, and therefore made no scruple to expose myself to the anger of the Count of Soissons, with whom, as I have already said, I could never live three months together without a quarrel.

The Count of Soissons presented a petition to the king at Fontainebleau, in which he proposed that a grant should be made him of fifteen-pence upon every bale of goods exported; a design that must certainly have been suggested to him by some of his friends, for he could never have thought of it himself; nor did he know all the consequences of it, at least he assured the king that this toll would not bring in more than thirty thousand livres a year, and so well persuaded him of the truth of what he had asserted, that his majesty, who thought himself obliged to bestow a gratuity of this value upon him, and being likewise vanquished by repeated importunities, granted his request without giving me, who was then at Paris, any notice of it. Henry, that he might be troubled with no further solicitations about it, caused an edict to be drawn up for the count, which he signed, and the seal was placed to it; but some remains of a scruple with regard to trade, the importance of which he was fully sensible of, made him, in granting this favour, reserve a verbal condition, that it should not exceed fifty thousand livres, press too hard upon the people, nor be too great a burden upon trade.

That evening the king, reflecting upon what he had granted, began to have some suspicion that he was imposed upon: he wrote to me instantly, and proposed the thing to me as an

indifferent question, without telling me what had passed, or naming any person. I knew not what to think of such a demand, but set myself to work, and, taking to my assistance the accounts of the customs and domain, and entries of provisions, I found that the annual amount of this tax would not be less than three hundred thousand crowns; and I could not but think it of still more importance, when I reflected on the trade of hemp and linen, which it seemed likely to ruin in Brittany, Normandy, and great part of Picardy. I therefore went immediately to Fontainebleau, to make my report to his majesty. The king confessed to me all that had happened, with many marks of astonishment that his confidence had been thus abused. The true remedy had been to have caused the edict to be brought back, and have entirely suppressed it, as being obtained under false pretences: but, that I might not be embroiled with the Count of Soissons, who could not be long ignorant that it was I who had opened his majesty's eyes, it was agreed upon between us to have recourse to another method, which was to hinder the parliament from registering the edict. All that was necessary for this purpose, was to send no letter with it, either under the king's hand or my own: this was an agreement that had long been made between the king and the sovereign courts; and without this formality, whatever other orders were produced, the parliament knew what they had to do, and would not register anything. I was certain, however, and I told his majesty so, that this expedient would not preserve me from the resentment of the count, and of the Marchioness de Verneuil, who, I discovered, was concerned in this business; but I resolved to hold firm against the count, provided his majesty would be proof likewise against the solicitations of his mistress, which he promised me, and added that he would openly support me.

Two or three days after my return to Paris, the Count of Soissons came to my house, and paid me many compliments, having, as he said, occasion for a *Maximilian de Bethune* at full length; he thought by showing me great kindness, and condescending to be familiar with me, he should easily obtain my signature, without being obliged to tell me for what purpose he demanded it. I answered coldly, pretending to be quite ignorant of the matter, that I never signed anything

without knowing what it was: the count then found that he must have recourse to other means; he acquainted me with what his majesty had lately done for him, and said, that as he was not ignorant of the private agreement between the king, the sovereign courts, and myself, the signature which he requested was a letter to the parliament of Brittany, and the court of aids at Rouen.

At this declaration I assumed an air still more serious, and pretended to be greatly surprised that the king had given me no intimation of the affair, nor communicated it to the council, to whom resolutions of such consequence were always made known; and from thence took occasion to tell the count that an edict of this nature, which bore so hard upon the public interest, deserving to be excepted from the general rule, I could not take the danger upon myself; that, therefore, he must address himself directly to his majesty, or bring me at least an order signed by him, which would serve to justify me against the reproaches I could not fail to draw upon myself some time or other for my compliance. The count replied with much bitterness, that I only made use of this extreme caution to ruin his design and to break with him entirely; but finding these words could not alter my resolution, he went away grumbling. I heard him mutter something between his teeth concerning our former quarrels, and he went to vent his rage at the house of the Marchioness of Verneuil.

This lady, although as much enraged with me as the Count of Soissons, nevertheless had come to make me a visit, just as I was leaving my closet to go to his majesty, who had returned to the Louvre. She could not have chosen a worse time; the too easy king had just suffered a score of edicts, all in the spirit of the first, to be extorted from him, and, to say the truth, of but little consequence. I set out with a full resolution to make a new attempt upon him in favour of the people, who would be prevented by these extortions from paying the land-tax. The marchioness asking what paper it was I had in my hand, "This is a pretty business, madame," answered I, in a passion, yet affecting to be much more angry than I really was; "you are not the last among those who are concerned in it;" in effect, her name made the sixth article. I then opened the memorial, and read to her all the names, with the titles of the edicts. "And what do you intend to

do with this?" said she. "I intend," answered I, "to make some remonstrances to the king upon it." "Truly," replied she, no longer able to contain her spleen, "he will have little to do to take your advice, and offend so many great people. And on whom, pray, would you have the king confer favours, if not on those who are mentioned in this writing, his cousins, friends, and mistress?" "What you say, madame," replied I, "would be reasonable enough, if his majesty took all the money out of his own purse; but to make a new levy upon the merchants, artists, labourers, and countrymen, it will never do; it is by them that the king and all of us are supported, and it is enough that they provide for a master, without having so many cousins, friends, and mistresses to maintain."

Madame de Verneuil lost none of my words: she dwelt particularly upon the last, and in the rage with which she was transported, made use of them to form a thousand wicked slanders. She flew immediately to the Count of Soissons, and told him that I had said the king had but too many relations, and that it would be happy for him and his people if he could get rid of them. The count, mad with rage, went the next morning and demanded a conference with the king. After a long enumeration of his services, he told him that I had so outrageously injured his honour, that he must absolutely have my life, unless his majesty would himself do him justice. Henry, seeing him in such violent emotion, asked him, with great composure, what I had done or said, and whether the affront he had received was directly from me, or had been related to him by another person. The count, not caring to enter into any explanation, replied, that if we were both together in his majesty's presence, not all the respect he ought to have for a person who was dear to him should hinder him from doing himself justice; and added, that what he had said was true, and he ought to be believed on his word, for he was not accustomed to lie: "If that be the case, cousin," said the king, in a tone that disconcerted him, "you will not be like one in your family; for we consider it as excellent in this way, particularly your elder brother; but since it is a report made to you, tell me who made it, and what he said, and then I shall know what I ought to do, and will endeavour to satisfy you, if you will hear reason." The

count replied, that he had taken an oath not to name the person from whom he received his information, but that he was as well convinced of his veracity as his own. "So then, cousin," replied the king, "you excuse yourself from answering my question on account of an oath you have taken to the contrary; and I likewise will take an oath to believe no more of your complaint than what M. de Rosny himself shall acknowledge to me, for I have as good an opinion of his veracity, as you can possibly have of those who tell you these fine tales."

The Count of Soissons, when he went out of the king's presence, discovered such an excess of fury against me, that his majesty thought it necessary to give me notice of it, which he did by Zamet and La Varenne, whom, at the same time, he ordered to ask me, if I had not by some word or action given offence to the count. I answered, that ever since the visit I had received from the count at the Arsenal, which was above fifteen days ago, I had never spoken to him, or any of his people; that the Marchioness of Verneuil indeed had been at my house, but neither she nor I had mentioned the count. "Oh!" said the king, when these words were repeated to him, "we need not doubt any longer from whence this mischief proceeds, since Madame de Verneuil is named, for she is so full of malice, and has such a ready invention, that to the least word of M. de Rosny's, she would add a hundred, nay, a thousand; but for all that, this affair must not be neglected." The rage in which his majesty saw the count, gave him reason to apprehend that he would take some violent resolution against me; he, therefore, sent La Varenne to tell me that I should never stir out of my house without being well attended, and that he desired I would spare nothing for my security; adding, with great goodness, that all he could employ in protecting me, would be far below what it would cost him if he should lose me.*

* L'Etoile's Journal treats at large of this difference, which the king put an end to by obliging the Count of Soissons to be contented with a letter of satisfaction which M. de Rosny wrote to him; and, according to Matthieu, Henry IV. made the Count of Soissons and the Marquis of Rosny come into his apartment and reconciled them. (Ibid. 592.) De Thou also speaks of it. (B. cxxix.) The steadiness of M. de Rosny has procured him great commendations from our historians.

I cannot quit the subject of this new creation of edicts without taking notice of an arrêt of council, much more ancient, by which a tax of anchorage was ordered to be levied on all the foreign vessels that anchored in our ports. This, in reality, was no more than what was paid by our vessels in foreign ports; nevertheless, it was with regret, and only by his majesty's express orders, that I carried it into execution, looking upon it to be one of those exactions which was most likely to depress the vigour of our trade. The parliaments of Rouen and Rennes made great opposition to the registering it, and the Marshal d'Ornano bestirred himself greatly, having money owing him from the State, which had been charged upon that part for his reimbursement. The establishment of commissioner-examiners, *lieutenants particuliers*, *assesseurs-criminels*, and other officers of justice, met with no less difficulty from the same court of Rouen, which, more than any other, opposed all these new edicts: the last were made with an intention to satisfy and send back the colonels and captains of companies, who had waited at Paris a long time for their pay in consequence of these regulations: probably it was the meeting with such obstacles as these to his designs that had long made Henry solicitous to suppress the chamber of requests in all his parliaments. He had laboured very earnestly to effect this, and actually began with that of the parliament of Toulouse this year, which continued to be suppressed, notwithstanding all the objections that were made to it by his own council, in which all the debate ran contrary to him.

The quarrel between the Count of Soissons and myself made a great noise; but the king, to show me that it had produced no alteration in his friendship, sent me notice by Beringhen some days afterwards, that he intended to pass by Rosny in the journey he was upon the point of making to Normandy, and that he expected I should treat him there with his court.

"He had no consideration for anything," says Father Chalons, "but the king's service; nor could any respect for persons of the greatest quality, princes, or even the queen herself, prevail on him to make the least concession, where he thought the king's interest or glory came in question; this caused him many enemies, and was the cause that after the king's death the queen took the management of affairs out of his hands." (Hist. de France, vol. iii. p. 255.)

The princes, princesses, and the constable, were all that the king permitted to be of this party. The preparations I made were worthy of him who did me the honour to be my guest; but the entertainment was disturbed by an unforeseen accident: the rivers were so much swollen by a sudden storm, that the offices of Rosny were overflowed,* the fruit spoiled, as well as the labour of the servants. The ladies were terrified, supposing the danger to be much greater than it really was. I removed their fears by causing a conduit to be opened, through which the water used to have a passage, and which had been filled up to make the approach more commodious for his majesty and for the carriages. I had already begun to make the road and the bridge at the entrance to Rosny, but neither were yet completed. The waters did great damage for ten leagues about, but I came off for two or three hundred crowns.

His majesty proceeded as far as Lower Normandy, but did not go beyond Caen; he took the government of it from Crevecœur-Montmorency (who was accused of carrying on a correspondence with Bouillon and D'Auvergne, and particularly with Trémouille, whose kinsman he was), and gave it to Bellefonds. From Caen the king passed through Rouen,† where he settled entirely all the affairs of that province. In this city he declared his pleasure concerning the marriage of my daughter, whom, as has been already mentioned,‡ the Princess Catherine had proposed for the Duke of Rohan, and who had since that time been demanded in marriage by Monsieur and Madame de Fervaques for Monsieur de Laval, the son of that lady. His majesty, at Rouen, ordered me rather to prefer Laval; but he once more altered his opinion.

The affairs of religion were in part the occasion of the journey his majesty had lately taken; and the Duke of

* I believe L'Etoile a little exaggerates this accident, when he says their majesties with great difficulty escaped the danger. "The king," he adds, "laughing, told M. de Rosny that heaven and earth were combined against him, and that he ought to take good care of himself."

† "The king was attacked at Rouen with so violent a looseness as to void blood, which the physicians said was occasioned by his having eaten too great a quantity of raw oysters." (L'Etoile, an. 1603.)

‡ See *ante*, p. 28.

Bouillon had likewise a share in it.* He was not yet quite discouraged from his attempts upon the King of England; he was still in the court of the Elector Palatine, whom he advised to build a citadel upon the ground which divided his territories from France, for the defence, he said, of the true religion; and had the boldness, without asking his majesty's leave, to solicit Erard, his first engineer, to come and draw the plan of this fortress for him. To serve his ambition everything seemed lawful, and sacred as well as profane things were prostituted to that purpose. He circulated a writing this year, in which the whole body of the Protestants was exclaimed against in a most outrageous manner; he had already drawn great advantages from this stratagem, which he seconded, on his part, by affecting to be greatly alarmed at the miseries which, it was said, were about to fall upon the Protestants, in consequence of the new resolutions that were taken by the council of France, to whom he attributed these libels. However, it was no difficult matter to prove that they had been composed by his friends, and sent into England with a view to hinder his majesty from succeeding in his endeavours to gain King James; but it was upon weak and hotheaded persons that Bouillon always imposed, and on them indeed his pains were not all cast away. An assembly of Protestants was held at Saumur and Poitou, on occasion of the king's last indisposition, in which Du Plessis extolled the duke in a manner not only ridiculous, but likewise insolent and presumptuous; for the praises he gave his hero seemed to be all at the king's expense, whom he calumniated without any respect to his person or dignity.

Of all these assemblies, none made so much noise as that which was held at Gap, the latter end of this year. The Elector Palatine and the Duke of Bouillon, by their letters and creatures, caused questions to be proposed in it which had a strong tendency to rekindle a war. The minister Ferrier, by their orders, used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon the Protestants to insert amongst their articles of confession that the pope is the Antichrist: surely it could not be called a spirit of religion, but rather of discord and in-

* It is in vain to attempt any justification of the Duke of Bouillon. His own historian gives up his defence, after the deposition of the Count of Auvergne. (B. v.)

trigue, that presided at the decision of this ridiculous tenet, which they likewise proposed to send printed to all the universities of Europe. As soon as the king was informed of this scandalous proceeding, he sent me orders from Fontainebleau, where he had resided since his return from Normandy, to put a stop to the licentiousness of the Protestants, and, above all, to hinder this new article of faith* from being received. Villeroy, likewise, by his commands, pressed me to exert myself on this occasion. I wrote immediately to Saint-Germain and Desbordes;† and, whether it was owing to the arguments I made use of to show them the folly of their conduct, or the advice I gave them not to irritate Henry, who they saw was resolved not to spare them, I know not, but the article in question was at length suppressed. The pope, I believe, was under great apprehensions about it; for he was so extremely enraged, that it was with difficulty his majesty could appease him; and probably it was to this incident that the Jesuits owed their re-establishment in France. The holy father had the consolation to see his dominions filled with an accession of monks of every kind, reformed Augustins, Recolets, barefooted Carmelites, ignorant friars; and amongst the other sex, Capuchin nuns, Folietans, and Carmelites: so many religious orders were never instituted at one time as in this year.

The boldness of the Protestants on this occasion will not appear so surprising, if it be considered that they had even gone greater lengths upon another, when they were insolent enough to offer their mediation to the king in favour of certain foreign princes with whom he had reason to be dissatisfied. I was continually repeating to them, that those rebellious proceedings would fall heavy upon them one day or other, and that they would long feel the effects of them: but they had prophets whose predictions were far more agreeable to them than mine. Bouillon, La Trémouille, Lesdiguières, and Du Plessis, to render my representations ineffectual, and myself the object of their hatred, insinuated

* See the Life of Du Plessis-Mornay (b. ii. p. 296), where we find steps taken by De Mornay to procure the reception of this absurd tenet.

† Deputies from the Calvinist party to reside at court, according to the custom of that time.

everywhere that I sacrificed, on all occasions, that very religion for which I pretended so much zeal; and that, by this practice, I enriched myself with wealth and preferment, to which other men had a better claim: nor did the Papists, except perhaps a very few, consider themselves as at all obliged to me for that which I did upon principles of pure equity; thus, by the malignity of my stars, or the invidiousness of my place, I honestly own I lost my labour on all sides.

While these complaints of the Protestants against me ran highest, I went one day to his majesty, with an intention to make him such representations as would secure me against the effects of their malice. The king was then in a gallery near his chamber, walking with the Duke of Montpensier, Cardinal Joyeuse, and the Duke of Epernon: he made me a sign to approach, and asked me whether I could guess the subject of his conversation with those three gentlemen. I answered only by a bow. "We were talking," said the king, "of the government of Poitou, and they have advised me to give it to you; could you have imagined this? they being such good Catholics, and you such an obstinate Huguenot." I did not even know that this government was vacant. Lavardin, who was governor of Perche and Maine, had the reversion of it after the death of Malicorne, who was very old and infirm, and he intended to resign his own for it; but reflecting that all his estates were situated in the provinces of which he was at present governor, he gave up his claim to Malicorne, and both had come to resign this government to the king, that he might dispose of it in favour of one of his natural children.

Henry likewise insisted upon my guessing his motives for preferring me to this post, rather than any other person, even those who were so near to him. I had nothing to allege, but the knowledge his majesty had of my fidelity and ardour for his service. The king replied, that his true reason for giving it to me, was, because I was a Huguenot, but a reasonable one, and zealous for the good of my country; that the Protestants beholding me in this light, could not but be highly satisfied with his choice; and that he did not doubt but that his whole kingdom would be no less so, since I was capable of inspiring them with more dutiful sentiments, of giving them just notions of their king, and of teaching them

to rely on his goodness, and to respect and love his person; and that, by suffering the gratuities which he granted to the principal members of this body to pass through my hands, the authority which the Duke of Bouillon still preserved amongst them might be destroyed. His majesty added (without doubt because these three gentlemen, who were also joined by Brissac, Ornano, and Roquelaure, were present), that although he felt so strong an affection for his religion, as to wish with the utmost ardour to see it embraced by all the Huguenots, and by me in particular, yet he could never forget that God had made use of that body, and of the cities of Rochelle, Bergerac, and Montauban especially, to free him from the oppression of Spain, to assist him in supporting his just claims, and to save even his life from the fury of the leaguers; that, on this account, however discontented he might be with those cities for discovering less duty and affection for him than formerly, yet nevertheless he thought himself obliged in honour to continue the same gratuities he had always allowed them for their fortifications and colleges. The king repeated several instances which the province of Poitou had hitherto given of its inviolable attachment to its lawful prince, "when no Bouillon," said he, "was there to excite them to sedition;" and could not hinder himself from saying, that, at this very time, the welfare of the kingdom depended upon maintaining a peace with the Protestants.

After this, his majesty told me that I might treat directly with Messieurs de Lavardin and Malicorne, repeating, that it was more for the interest of the State, and therefore more agreeable to his inclinations, to give this government to me than to his own children. All that were present said something in approbation of what his majesty had done, and in praise of me; and I made my acknowledgment to all, either in words, or by low bows. I despatched Montmartin immediately to Lavardin and Malicorne, and he transacted the business with such prudence, that, by a seasonable present of a thousand crowns to those whose advice they took in this affair, I got this government from them for twenty thousand crowns. Upon their resignation, Du Fresne sent me, on the 16th of December, the patents for the government of Poitou, Châtelleraudais, Laudunois, &c. This made my revenue from governments amount to thirty thousand livres;

namely, twelve thousand livres from the governments of Mantes and Gergeau, which I already possessed, and were both very lucrative for private governments, especially Gergeau, on account of the garrisons; and eighteen thousand livres from that of Poitou: in this sum, however, I have always included my salaries for the two posts of superintendent of the fortifications, and of buildings.

I must not omit to give some account of the attempts that were made this year in France, to establish the stuff manufactures, and especially those of silk. Henry, who embraced with eagerness everything which, in his opinion, could contribute to the glory and utility of the kingdom, suffered himself to be persuaded by Les Bourgs and Des Cumans that it was a very easy matter not only to supply silks for our home consumption, which used to be brought from foreign countries and distant regions, but also to carry on a considerable trade in this manufacture with foreigners. For this purpose, all that was necessary, said they, was to give encouragement to silk weavers to come amongst us, to increase the breed of silkworms, plant mulberry-trees, and erect large buildings fit for these sorts of manufactures. I exclaimed loudly against this scheme, which I never approved: but the king was so prejudiced in favour of it, that all my remonstrances were ineffectual.

I remember that one day, when his majesty did me the honour to visit me at the Arsenal, to confer with me upon the necessary methods for establishing these manufactures, which could not be done without a great expense, we had a pretty warm debate about it. "I know not," said he to me, finding I received all the proposals he made me on this subject, with that reserve and coldness which I always assumed when I was not in his opinion, "I know not what whim this is that you have taken in your head to oppose a scheme so well calculated to enrich and embellish the kingdom, to root out idleness from among the people, and which I should find so much satisfaction in completing." I replied, that this last reason had so much weight with me, that if I could see the least probability of succeeding in the schemes for a silk manufacture, I should content myself with representing to his majesty that he would purchase this satisfaction at rather too high a price, and destroy by it that which he proposed to himself in the execution of those great designs

which, by his command, I had mentioned to the King of England; but that I entreated him not to be offended with me if I presumed to tell him that I could not, as he did, see either glory or utility resulting from this establishment. I then asked him if he would permit me to give him my reasons for thinking so differently from him. "I give you leave," said he, "but upon condition that you afterwards hear mine, which, I am persuaded, will be more convincing than yours." I then made the following observations to his majesty:

It is through a wise dispensation of Providence, which designs that all the nations of the earth, or of one continent, should be obliged by their common necessities to have an intercourse with each other; that this country was fitted to produce one thing, and that another, exclusively of all the rest: France has the good fortune to be so favourably distinguished in this distribution of benefits, that no country, probably, in the world, except Egypt, so universally abounds with whatever supplies the necessities, or contributes to the mere conveniences of life; her corn, grain and pulse, her wine, ciders, flax, hemp, salt, wool, oil, dyeing drugs, that immense quantity of cattle, great and small, which usually serve her inhabitants for food, putting her in a condition not only to have nothing to envy in her neighbours on the score of any of these commodities, but even to dispute with them those which make up all the trade they carry on: Spain, Italy, and Sicily are of this number.

It is true, her climate denies her silk; the spring begins too late, and an excessive moisture almost always prevails; and this inconvenience, which is absolutely irremediable, affects not only the silkworms, which, on this account, are hatched with great difficulty, but likewise the mulberry-trees that these insects feed upon, for which a mild and temperate air is necessary in the season wherein they put forth their leaves. The difficulty of multiplying them in a country where none ever grew cannot but be very great: it will be five years at least before there can be any certainty of their coming to perfection, during which we risk the loss of time, labour, and the produce of the ground they are planted in. But are these difficulties which ought to dissuade us from engaging in an enterprise, the success of which they do not render doubtful, but impossible—a real loss to us? That is the question.

A country life affords so many various labours and employments, that in France none need be idle but those who resolve against all work; therefore it is necessary to begin by curing people of this lazy disposition, which, if real, is the only thing worthy of attention. But how is this done by offering them the culture of silk for an employment? First, they leave one profession, which brings them in a certain and sufficient income, for another, where their gains are casual and doubtful. It would not, indeed, be very difficult to make them prefer this to the former, because it is but too natural to quit a hard and laborious kind of life, such as agriculture is, considered in its full extent, for one that, like working upon silk, does not fatigue the body by any violent motion. But even this is another argument to prove the dangerous consequences of suffering the country people to be thus employed: it has been a common observation, at all times and in all places, that the best soldiers are found amongst the families of robust, laborious, and nervous peasantry; if, instead of these, we enlist men who are brought up to no other labour than what a child, if taught it, has strength to perform, we shall be soon convinced they are no longer fit for the military art, which requires, as I have often heard his majesty himself observe, a strong constitution, confirmed by laborious exercises, that tend to maintain in its full vigour the whole strength and energy of the body. And this military art, the situation of France, and the nature of her politics, make it absolutely necessary to hinder from degenerating or being depressed.

At the same time that we enervate the country people, who in every respect are the true supporters of the State, among those of the city we introduce luxury, with all her train of mischiefs, effeminacy, sloth, voluptuousness, and that domestic extravagance which it is not to be feared that people who have but little, and know how to be satisfied with that little, will ever plunge into. In France we have already too many of these useless citizens, who under habits glittering with gold and embroidery conceal the manners of weak women.

The objection, that immense sums of money are carried out of France into foreign countries for the support of this luxury, proves the truth of what I have just observed, and

destroys the inference they pretend to draw from it: would they reason justly upon the inconvenience that arises from this commerce and this importation of vain and unnecessary merchandises, they would be convinced that the best thing that could be done would be to suppress the use of them entirely, and absolutely prohibit their being brought into France; at the same time to fix, by good and severe regulations, the richness of clothes and furniture; and to put everything of this kind upon the same footing as they were in the reigns of Louis XI., Charles VIII., and Louis XII.* That necessity which obliges us to dress in one sort of stuffs rather than another, is the mere vice of fancy, and the price that is set upon them an evil we fall into with full conviction. Were we to consider, though but with the slightest attention, the source of what is called *the fashion*, we should find, to our shame and confusion, that a small number of persons, and those the most despicable of a great city, which contains all classes indifferently within her walls, for whom, if we were acquainted with them, we should feel that contempt we have for men without morals, or that compassion we have for fools,—that these very men dispose, nevertheless, of our purses, and keep us enslaved to their caprices.

But silk clothes are not the only things which require reformation by the royal power; there is as much to be done

* Many edicts of this kind were issued at different times during the reign of Henry IV., against which the dealers in silk at Paris presented many useless remonstrances to the king and M. de Rosny. The Memoirs for the History of France relate in what manner that minister received the Sieur Henriot, who spoke for them, a good old merchant, whose manners and dress bore the marks of the simplicity and plainness of the tradesmen of former times. "The next day," says the writer of these Memoirs, "they waited on M. de Sully, who answered them only with disdain and ridicule; for Henriot, having put one knee to the ground, that nobleman immediately raised him; and having turned him round, the better to survey his old-fashioned dress, being a short holiday-gown, lined with taffety, his jacket and the rest of his clothes ornamented with silks of different kinds, in the manner they were formerly worn by merchants, he said to him, 'Honest friend, what reason can you and your company have to complain, when you are much finer than I am? Is not this damask—this taffety?' &c.; and after turning them into ridicule, sent them away without giving them any other satisfaction; which made them say, as they were returning, 'The servant is ruder and haughtier than his master.'" (Vol. ii. p. 278.)

with respect to diamonds, jewels, statues, and pictures, if it be considered as a grievance that foreigners take away our gold and silver: we must likewise take into consideration equipages, plate, furniture, and everything in which these metals are made use of. If we reflect upon the amazing extravagance that prevails in France, the sums squandered foolishly in gardens, buildings, costly works, entertainments, liquors, and what not; if we think on the exorbitant price paid for offices, of marriages set up to auction, what is there that does not want reformation? We cannot charge to foreign manufactures the tenth part of the money that is thrown away in France without the least necessity. The care which the law and the finances would require would engage us in an endless digression: these two bodies, of which the one ought to be the guardians of good order, and the other of economy, seem only to have been brought into the world to destroy both the one and the other. These are the only people who know what it is to be rich; and how they come by this wealth may be seen by the manner in which they spend it: the old chancellors, first presidents, councillors of state, and the other heads of the courts and the revenues, if they were to come into the world again, would not know how to find those who now fill their places, and resemble them in nothing but their titles.*

* Though silks and other articles of luxury are, in strictness, no otherwise good or bad than according to the good or bad use made of them; yet, as it is really more common to apply them to the latter than to the former purposes, the good intention of the author, and the purity of his morals, cannot be sufficiently praised. The rigid defenders of the Christian doctrines do, and always will, espouse his sentiments; but it must be acknowledged, that the politicians of the present times, even those who are most severe, think differently; they find nothing conclusive in those examples of antiquity which are produced against luxury, even in respect to the times from which they are taken, much less in regard to the present. According to their opinion, other causes brought about those revolutions which were attributed to it; which causes having now lost their force, such revolutions do not, nor cannot happen again; the increase of gold and silver in Europe, occasioned by the mines of those metals discovered in America, and whence this part of the world has been enriched within the last two centuries, has introduced by its natural consequence luxury or superfluity, which makes the necessary exchange against the redundance of money, otherwise a useless drug. This has entirely

I said everything I could think of on this subject that carried with it any force to bring the king over to my opinion; but I could not prevail. "Your arguments are very strong," said he to me; "and I would rather choose to fight the King of Spain in three pitched battles, than engage all these people of the law, the offices, and the city especially, their wives and daughters, whom you have brought upon my back, with all your whimsical regulations." "Then it is your pleasure, Sire," replied I, "that I should speak to you no more upon this subject; however, time and experience will convince you, that France is not fitted for these gewgaws." I was obliged to content myself with endeavouring only to prevail upon the king to alter his intention of taking the Tournelles, and the whole of that enclosure, for the new buildings he projected for his silk manufactories. I represented to him that he would one day destroy what it would cost him so much to build, and brought to his remembrance, that, once, when he was laying with me the foundations of a design far more noble and just, the Tournelles had been destined for another building of a very different kind.* "We will talk of

changed the face of Europe, unavoidably influenced the systems of government, and left no means of aggrandising any state except by commerce, which opens every inlet to luxury; no inconveniences arise from hence till it exceeds what the profits of commerce will afford; besides, experience demonstrates more clearly than reasoning can, that it is not at all incompatible either with order, subordination, or a military spirit. As to what relates to silk, should we even suppose, with M. de Sully, that France is improper to produce it, his manner of reasoning will nevertheless be imperfect, as he seems to have been ignorant how much the manufacture adds to the value of the original materials, and of what advantage that is to the kingdom. If any one should still remain unconvinced of this truth, he ought to be sent for conviction to our manufactures of silks at Lyons, Tours, &c.; and in spite of what our author says in this place, the establishment of the manufactures of stuffs of all kinds, which was begun in the reign of Henry IV., will always compel us to speak in praise of that prince. (See on this article, l'Essai Politique sur le Commerce, chap. ix. p. 105, second edit. 1736.)

* The building here meant was intended to be a magnificent square of seventy-two fathoms on each side, which was to be called the Square of France; eight streets were to have opened into it, of eight toises in breadth, bearing the names of so many provinces. The design for it was made in 1608, but the death of Henry IV. put a stop to the execution

that when it happens," replied Henry; and this was all I could get from him. He followed Zamet, who came to tell him that the dinner he had ordered to be prepared for him at his house was ready.

It was not, I confess, without deep regret, that I saw such large sums of money squandered, which might have been employed to so many useful purposes. I made a calculation of the expense Henry was commonly at every year in buildings, in play, for his mistresses, and his hounds, and found that it amounted to twelve hundred thousand crowns—a sum sufficient to maintain a body of fifteen thousand foot; I could not, though I risked the danger of losing his affection, be silent upon this subject. He commanded me to give six thousand livres to Madame de Verneuil, too happy once more to purchase at this price that domestic quiet which was so often interrupted by his wife and his mistress; but fortunately for him, he escaped all broils this year. It was the current report at Fontainebleau, and for a long time believed, that the queen was again with child; but it was afterwards found to be a mistake, which the king did me the honour to inform me of.

The colony that was sent to Canada this year was among the number of those things that had not my approbation: there was no kind of riches to be expected from all those countries of the New World which are beyond the fortieth degree of latitude. His majesty gave the conduct of this expedition to the Sieur du Mont.*

of it; under the following reign it was executed in part, and was called the Royal Square.

* See in the Septennaire the description of a voyage made to Canada by the Sieur du Mont. There is also a relation of the manners of the inhabitants of this part of the New World; but it is very unfaithful, and filled with fables. M. de Sully is again mistaken in this point; our new colonies are a proof of it. We refer for a further account of this matter to l'Essai Politique sur le Commerce. Liberty and Protection—these two words which comprehend the only true means of bringing the internal commerce of a nation into a flourishing state—may, in another sense, be applied to the trade carried on with the two Indies; that is to say, as the author of these Memoirs remarks, that none of the trading nations of Europe should be excluded from it, but that it should be indiscriminately shared amongst them all; and that the

method of carrying it on to the most general advantage, is by exclusive privileges, granted not to private persons, but to whole companies acting under the name and by the authority of the king. I ought not to forget observing here, that the first company for carrying on a trade to the East Indies was established in France under the reign of Henry IV., and in the year after his death. It was formed by a Fleming, called Gerrard le Roy. The edict of its establishment, which bears date the 1st of June, 1604, grants many exemptions and privileges to this company; the fifth and sixth articles are somewhat remarkable, it being therein said, that gentlemen might become members of this company without derogation to their gentility. The difficulty of procuring the necessary funds, the disunion amongst the members, and all the other causes, which have since so often occasioned the destruction of this institution, prevented its having the proposed effect at that time; it was reserved for the celebrated M. Colbert to place it on a more solid and durable basis. The history of this company, the many advantages whereof are at present more known than ever, would carry me too far, and is, moreover, to be found already in many good books.

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